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ABSTRACT

The 15 articles in this special issue focus on learning about the audiovisual mass media and education, especially television and film, in relation to various pedagogical and didactical questions. Individual articles are: (1) "Audiovisual Mass Media for Education in Pakistan: Problems and Prospects" (Ahmed Noor Kahn); (2) "The Role of the Audiovisual Mass Media on the Development of the Nigerian Child" (Adjai N. D. Robinson); (3) "The Implication of Audiovisual Mass Media on Educational Operations in Nigeria" (Joshua Ojo Oni); (4) "Audiovisual Mass Media Education for Creative Curriculum Development and Practice in English Language: A Case Study in Nigeria" (M. Olufunmilayo Odusina); (5) "Toward Compassion and Justice: Audiovisual Mass Media and the North-South Divide" (Toh Swee-Hin); (6) "Media Studies in Schools--Into the Next Era" (Barrie McMahon and Robyn Quin); (7) "Creative Curriculum Packaging for Diverse Populations: Learning about Television and Film, a Public Responsibility and a Personal Challenge" (Carol Ann Valentine); (8) "Mass Media and Education: A Mutual Challenge" (David C. Butts); (9) "The Media: Servant or Master?" (Rex Andrews); (10) "The Development of Media Education in Europe in the 1980s" (Len Masterman); (11) "The Fictional World of Film and Television: Theatrical Communication in the Classroom" (Sonja de Leeuw); (12) "Creating a Balance between Maker and Viewer" (Harrie Swinkels); (13) "Machines Come Later: Basics of Audiovisual Mass Media" (Peter van Stapele); (14) "On Becoming a Cinephile: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis of Film Taste" (Ed S. H. Tan, Leopold J. M. Eggermont, and Petronella D. M. Joosten); and (15) "Interactive Media: Friend or Foe?" (Richard N. Tucker). A short biography of each contributor is provided. (DB)

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Audiovisual Mass Media and Education

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THEMANUMMER

AUDIOVISUAL MASS MEDIA AND EDUCATION

edited by Peter van Stapele
and Clifford C. Sutton

Associate editors: Peter Knudsen, Sonja de Leeuw,
Hans van der Meij, Harrie Swinkels, Ed Tan
Willemijn in't Veld

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FOREWORD

This special issue on *Audiovisual Mass Media and Education* is a concerted publication of the *Tijdschrift voor Theaterwetenschap (TTW/Journal for Theatre Studies)* and the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction (WCCI). WCCI will use it as a pre-publication for its Sixth Triennial Conference on Education to be held August 5-13, 1989 in Noordwijkerhout, the Netherlands. The theme of the conference is *Creative Curriculum Development and Practice.*

This special issue of *TTW* focuses on learning about the audiovisual mass media, especially television and film, in relation to various pedagogical and didactical questions. During the process of preparing this publication we became aware of the fact that such a focus is a typically Northern one and, therefore, lopsided. As Joshua Akintola, a research and development consultant from Nigeria, wrote to the editors:

> The South is not in any position to speak and act in the field or theatre of audiovisual mass media at any level of sophistication as yet. The primary issues and problems now lie in the securing of the means to strengthen an "immature educational system" already further crippled by the lack of necessary financial, material, and manpower resources.

The incongruities between the North and the South have emerged as a major issue and we have tried to express this issue through the grouping of the articles. We agree with Akintola that any discussion on audiovisual mass media and education which fails to recognize the reality of North/South incongruities would be a dialogue for the sake of dialogue only. This statement applies to this special issue as a whole, and of course, not to any individual chapter.

We asked the authors to reflect on the questions of *why*, *what*, and *how* students should learn about audiovisual mass media. In an effort to illustrate the nature of our questions, we sent the authors a summary of a working paper on the theme written by Peter van Stapele. His paper has been used for sessions of the WCCI, in regional conferences, and in preparing for the conference in 1989 in The Netherlands (see *Introduction*, p.7).

It is not possible to thank everyone who has made this publication possible. We will make no exception: we thank every body who has supported us in our task as editors, both financially and by plain hard work. Without the efforts of many this publication would never have seen daylight.

Peter van Stapele
Clifford C. Sutton

NOTE

My job has entailed all facets in the editorship of this special issue, especially decisions regarding the "translation" of some articles into more readable English and the determination of style. I take full responsibility for my work and hope that contributors to the issue will forgive me if I have in some instances failed to capture or have marred the full impact they may have had in their hearts. My task was not an enviable one and entailed much more work than I had expected. However, I wish to clearly state my gratitude to the persons who are in charge of this magazine for giving me the chance to do it. It has been an excellent learning experience.

Clifford Sutton

INTRODUCTION

by Peter van Stapele.

Education, I think, is determined by the fact that human beings are engaged in a process of interaction in which one or more humans act as an intermediary agent between the others and their world, in order that they acquire and develop experiences, knowledge, comprehension, understanding, and feeling about themselves, other creatures, objects, and occurences in the world as a whole, enabling them to observe, describe, analyse, interpret, and value, and to take an active and creative part in all kinds of activities and actions.

Because the child grows and develops in a dialectical relationship with its cultural and social environment, its *milieu*, which is full of signs that the child learns to observe and value, all influences and interpretations have an educational character, although some are more educational than others. This depends on the structure of the situation.

When a child enters school, which in most cases is a highly structured form of education, s/he should already be able to use most sign systems such as language and gesture in a skillful manner. Therefore, the child should be able to use most media of communication. Its culture is structured through this use. If a child has not learned the proper use of sign-systems, i.e., interaction, interpretation, and valuing skills, we should call this a situation of deviation *from* the child's nature and not *of* the child's nature. Whatever the causes, most children, and also adults, have the potential to grow and learn in the way I have sketched above, given the right educational circumstances. This is linked with the main question about education: What do we know or understand about the nature of children's creative activities related to their growth and development, and how do we value these activities in the different stages of education?

Mass media are also media of communication which the child should learn to use. The question is what role the audiovisual mass media should play in education. What are the paradigms existing under our answers to this question? Which concepts form our theories and practice with regard to the use of audiovisual mass media in education and to audiovisual mass media education itself?

By audiovisual mass media I mean all means of communication, especially film and television, which are characterized by the use of the cinesthetic system (sounds, images, movement, and the use of the cinematographic or televisual system), to reach large numbers of people, most of whom are not in the same architectonic space as the people who produce and transmit the messages in the communication process. Audiovisual mass media are extensions of human beings as sign users. The "senders" are relatively few, the "receivers" are many. The many learn to see realities through the medium of audiovisual mass media, especially television, realities which are transformed into new realities through a process of semiosis: signification, perception, interpretation, and valuation.

Seeing and listening are not the same as understanding. If we watch television, for example, we may not be aware of the fact that we see realities that are being created rather than already existing. The paradox is that if we begin to theorize about it, we seem to move away from life. Under the surface of what we see the phenomenon is very complex and technical.

Audiovisual mass media can show, or suggest, the impossible through manipulating time and space, and by showing detailed information. These devices were already understood in the beginning of the development of feature film. The work of the magician George Méliès and of the American director Edwin S. Porter demonstrates this knowledge.

To understand the messages transmitted through audiovisual mass media and the effects of them on the public, we must ask what the conditions are which allow mass media to function. In finding and exploring possible answers to this question we must concentrate on the matter of codes: the rules, principles, and conventions (like "syntaxis" and "socio-cultural codes") which allow messages through audiovisual mass media to be understood and accepted. Every single message, e.g., a programme on television, can be seen as a complete and complex sign, but only because it is a part of a larger semiotic whole without which the organisation of syntagmas and paradigmas in the single product could not have meaning to us. In analyzing, interpreting, and valuing single products, we transcend these products. These products can only be studied as part of a whole (for example, a body of different products in a certain socio-economic, cultural, and historical context, or in regard to the use of signs in different situations). The construction, function, and effect of messages through the mass media are subject to more or less consciously employed or developed strategies which partly have a systematic character based on rules, principles, and conventions.

Audiovisual mass media reach a great number of people. The majority of the audience belongs to an oral-visual culture. The use of audiovisual mass media is usually of a conventional nature, perhaps because messages/programmes are made for a large audience. We must be aware, for example, that most people "watch" television programmes as if they "see" natural representations of reality. For them television is reality. The concrete form of norms, values, ideas, ideologies, and mythologies are experienced as reality, possibly even when they are presented in the form of fiction as in drama series. Although the concrete embodiments can be experienced as fictitious, a large part of the audience experiences *infinita* in the form of *finita* just as in folktales or other genres of oral narratives.

Audiovisual mass media are experienced as real, which make them such powerfull instruments of communication, intrinsic and extrinsic. They are intrinsic because of the means and the possibilities of the media and extrinsic because the media mainlv are used to embody constructs of reality that are, or are becoming, familiar to a great number of people in a very concrete way. Some theorists may call this a situation of alienation. What seems to count is how people react to messages/programmes that move away from life as they experience it. This is also a matter of upbringing and of education, which is mainly a matter of possible choices and politics -- I mean acting, organizing, and judging wisely.

In writing about audiovisual mass media and education, a political-critical approach cannot be avoided. Decisions with regard to the use of mass media and of education are not necessarily a matter of the formative will. It has more to do with the power of "the people in charge" and the forming of understanding, valuing, and creating in the audience. This again is a matter of upbringing and education.

Questions and paradigms existent under this short introduction are directly related to the theme of the 1989 International WCCI Conference in The Netherlands, *Creative Curriculum Development and Practice*. The issue of *TTW* on *Audiovisual Mass Media and Education*, therefore, can be used as an *example* for the participants of the conference, illustrating how the theme could be explored and discussed. It will also be used in meetings of one or more interest groups and workshops in the conference.

In general, the *theme* of the conference was chosen to create an opportunity for the participants to focus on a topic of international concern: the study of curriculum-as-plan and curriculum-as-lived as twin moments of the same phenomenon. The main *question* is:

> Which are and how do we form the theories that form the foundation of,or are existent under, our educational practice, and how do our reflections on educational practice and the larger socio-economic and cultural context influence the forming of such theories?

This question is connected to the notion of *creative curriculum development*, which means that we should plan for creative education, fostering and developing in people their potentialities to create:

> Creating possibilities to learn to experience, to understand, to value, and to make realities (objects and situations) in a social relationship with others, also on international level.

This is what I call *basic education*, creating a basis for realizing values like learning to be, forming a personal life, international understanding and peace, human rights, political forming, equality and social and economic justice, anti-sexist behaviour, social responsibility, and friendship and compassion.

DEVELOPING THE POWER TO MAKE LEARNING TO BE CREATIVE

These notions are connected to the major theme of the WCCI World Conference in 1989. We will examine and discuss educational practice related to foundations, paradigms, myths, ideology, assumptions, and aims. I am sure that the conference will open new avenues for exploration of the fields of curriculum development without foreclosing the deep interest in other subjects that members of WCCI continue to hold.

I have stated above that audiovisual mass media are extensions of human beings as sign users. For me this means that the media are socially and culturally useless if human beings are not well educated in using the media actively and creatively. Audiovisual mass media are important and beautiful technological inventions. They are not, however, as important and beautiful as any human being whose power to make can never be replaced by technological extensions.

I shall not introduce the various articles separately because their titles already make very clear what the authors are writing about. We are very pleased that experts from all parts of the world have contributed to this special issue of *TTW*. The articles are arranged according to the parts of the world they came from, related to the North-South issue discussed in the ***FOREWORD***. The arrangement is not a matter of importance or appraisal. The contributions from the Netherlands, for example, fall, with one exception, in alphabetic order.

The editors expect that this special issue of *TTW* on audiovisual mass media education will contribute to the discussion and the further development of such education, before, during, and after WCCI's Sixth Triennial World Conference on Education. All contributors look forward to hearing your responses to their work.

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AUDIOVISUAL MASS MEDIA FOR EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

by

Ahmed Noor Khan

Introduction

For centuries the only media of instruction used by teachers have been chalk and talk with the supplement of textbooks. Gradually visualization through models, charts, and pictures introduced the first visual aids used in teaching. New inventions, like recording of sound and projection implemented in the teaching process, opened the era of audiovisual aids, and the technological development brought newer, more modern educational technology equipment, methods, and techniques.

The importance and use of television for the classroom has been affirmed by sophisticated observers and by research. Gerald Beadle of the BBC amply justified this notion when he said:

> "Next to the home and school I believe television to have more profound influence on the human race than any other medium of communication... Civilizations grow and prosper by making themselves attractive spiritually as well as materially. I use the word spiritual to include everything appealing to the intellect, the conscience, the sense of beauty, and the humor of man. If television lives up to this broad and high ideal it will prosper and posterity will bless it."

The impact of audiovisual mass media and its role in developing countries cannot be ignored. The audiovisual mass media, especially radio, have been found to be major sources of initial and additional information. Audiovisual mass media are mainly available to predominantly urban populations. If we take Pakistan as an example, in the urban setting only 33 % have such a facility.

There has always been a felt need to accelerate the pace of the country's development and rate of literacy by exploring new ways and means for reaching the masses through alternative ap-

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proaches. Radio and television are the best alternatives for reaching the masses although the latter has not proved to be cost effective.

Due to the low literacy rate, less exposure, and the lack of relevance of the message, the effect of mass media in developing countries has not been so evident as in the developed countries. Quite a number of developing nations have made some form of investment in educational television. An honest evaluation would indicate that the results have seldom matched the expectations.

Despite this, educational television is capable of making available many needed and therefore inaccessible learning experiences which most teachers are quick to recognize as lending efficiency to classroom instruction.

Educational television brings about a continuing cooperative planning by teachers, supervisors, learning materials experts, and skillful ETV production teams. Educational television at its best results from the outgrowth of curriculum planning, of study content analysis, and of the selection and interrelated use of the most appropriate instructional media.

As teachers we should understand the great hold television has on our young people and realize its potential strength. We should also realize the inherent danger of its reducing viewers to a passive, dreamlike identification with what too often is provided as television entertainment.

Pakistan: A profile

Pakistan, an ideological state and a new country with a centuries old civilization, was created 42 years ago on August 14, 1947. Its establishment was the culmination of the struggle by Muslims of the South Asian subcontinent for a separate homeland of their own.

Pakistan is a land of many splendors. The scenario changes as one goes northward from the coastal beaches in the south to sandy deserts, desolate plateaus, fertile plains, and high mountains with snowcapped peaks in the north. The eternal glaciers are the climbers' paradise. The highest K-2, Mt. Godwin Austin, at 28,250 feet is exceeded only by the Mt. Everest.

With an area of 696,000 square kilometers, the country is surrounded by India in the east, China and Russia in the north, and Afghanistan and Iran in the west. The Arabian Sea opens up the land in its coastal south.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Population

The 1981 Census put the population of Pakistan at 84.3 million but the estimated population has grown to nearly 100 million in 1988. With its four provinces, the heart of the country is the Punjab province which has 56.1% of the total population and is the most densely populated of all four provinces. Baluchistan with 43.6% of the land, has only 5.1%, Sind and North West Frontier Province have 22.6% and 15.7% of the population respectively.

According to the 1981 Census, 45 percent of the population is under 15 years of age, 51% is between the ages of 15 and 64 years while 4 percent comprises persons 65 years old and above. Life expectancy in 1984 was 51 years as compared to 70 in Sri Lanka, 76 in Hong Kong, 64 in Turkey, and 56 in India.

Economy

The economic structure is predominently agrarian with 72 percent living in rural Pakistan. The living standards, though higher than the standard in the neighbouring South Asian Countries, is not enviable since the increase in per capita income is diluted due to high rate of population growth -- 3.1 percent annually. Thus, the access of common man to proper health, education, housing, and other basic facilities poses a great challenge to planners and policy makers.

Pakistan's per capita income according to World Bank Report, 1986, was US $ 380.00 per annum in 1984. The annual growth rate in GNP has been 6.5 percent. Though primarily an agrarian economic structure, the process of urbanization in the country is fast taking place due to differentials in earnings, prospects of gainful employment in urban centres, and inadequacy of basic facilities like health, education, transport, electricity, and drinking water in rural Pakistan.

Education

The literacy rate as estimated in 1981 Census was 26.2 percent, the lowest rate in Asia and the Pacific region. According to this Census report only 13 million people have attained some level of education; 46 percent have passed primary education, (69% males, 31% females); 23 percenty middle level (75% males and 25% females), and 20% matriculation (77% males, 23% females).

After matriculation the percentage falls to 6% for higher secondary, (74% males, 26% females); 4% for graduates (74% males, 26% females), and 1% for post-graduates (75% males, 25% females). The percentage of engineering and medical graduates is 0.28 and 0.25 respectively. Out of medical graduates 22% are females. Female law graduates comprise only 3 percent.

Education receives only 6 percent of the total budget of Pakistan. According to the UNESCO standard of 4% allocation on education, less than 2 percent of the total GNP is presently invested as compared to Malaysia's 6.7 percent, Turkey's 5.6 percent, Iran's 5.4 percent, Sri Lanka's 5 percent, and India's 2.9 percent.

In the area of education the government has planned to increase the participation rate at primary level to about 75 percent from the present level of 50 percent and to increase the literacy rate from the present 26.2 percent to 50 percent by 1990. It is generally agreed that a minimum literacy rate of 50 percent is essential to ensure a take off position for development in a country. The priority given to eradication of illiteracy and promotion of scientific and technical education in the Prime Minister's Five Point programme forms the basis of the current educational programme of the government.

The fact that Pakistan is a developing country implies that the priority for national development is very high. In respect to certain indicators of socioeconomic development such as education and literacy the country is much lower as compared to many other countries of the World, particularly India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia. The policies and plans prepared and implemented since 1947 have presented very different strategies for the acceleration of the pace of development in the country.

Audio media for education: An overview

In view of the importance and urgency of eradication of illiteracy audio programmes through Radio Pakistan were launched from all its stations. Earlier, Radio Pakistan had launched a programme entitled 'Alif Ujala' (L for light) from all its stations. The programme was designed to enlist and motivate the teachers and the taught and to give a report on the work done.

These programmes have been refined and enriched and have helped the revival of literacy centres all over the country which were either inactive or were functioning at a very low rate of attendance. A very large number of illiterate persons were thus motivated to start learning at the formal literacy centres.

This concept has been professionally and critically examined by the broadcasting organisations in South Asia as well as the Asian Institute of Broadcasting Development at Kuala Lumpur in December, 1984. The 'Alif Ujala' initiative and its bold execution has indicated that radio, apart from informing, educating, and entertaining its listeners, is also capable of playing a socially useful role. It has the power to reach further and faster into every corner of remote rural areas than any other media. Its low cost and repeated contacts, compared with the cost of contacts through conventional methods, make the radio programmes doubly attractive for the promotion of literacy and adult education.

Audiovisual media for education: Pakistan Television

Pakistan Television today covers more than 82% of total population and more than 34% of total area of Pakistan. Being a single channel operation, PTV has a great challenge and responsibility to provide an ideal blend of entertainment, education, and information.

It was during the media boom of the sixtees that an idea to introduce television in Pakistan was first conceived. This was in 1963. An agreement between the Government of Pakistan and the Nissan company of Japan was initiated. A pilot station in Lahore was first agreed upon for observing the operation for three months. This was later handed over to the Government for continuing the operation and expansion in the country. The primary motive was providing entertainment to the general public at large.

The very following year, in November 1964, the project was fully commissioned. The beginning was made, however, in the wake of mounting opposition from the people who demanded that such costly luxuries should not be popularised at the cost of prevailing abject poverty and deprivation of the basic necessities of the common man.

The escalation of stormy debate and resistance from the people compelled the Government to take a defensive posture by declaring that the installation of television was intented to educate the teeming millions who were illiterate. Such a stand was taken only to divert attention of the people from the chaotic conditions prevailing in the country after the India-Pakistan War of 1965.

When an analysis is made of the currents and counter currents that swept the country in mid sixty's, it seems that the establishment of television as a mass media in Pakistan had two objectives, real and assumed. In reality the Government's intention was to provide entertainment to the people to divert their attention from the impending political and socioeconomic upheaval which was brewing in the country due to the ravages of the Indo-Pakistan war. Although the assumed objectives were to provide education for raising the rate of literacy, to lessen poverty by providing skill oriented education, and to raise the standard of living, such objectives receded into the background under the claim that television as a mass media was meant for providing information and entertainment to the people. The organizers and the managers of television, however, were thrown in a lurch because there were no arrangements available for giving orientation and training to the manpower to work on television. The only alternative was to look to the cinema industry and ask for its manpower. The television programme became recreational instead of becoming pro-educational. The managers ignored the manpower available in the education field and were tempted to further strengthening entertaining programmes by introducing a new change in the whole set up. Advertising was added to the entertaining programmes in order to earn more revenue. Commercialization of television dominated the policy makers and opened up the case for turning it into a corporation. This further boosted the television industry and demand for television sets shot up.

The first move

By 1972 the alarming low literacy rate in the country caught the serious attention of the Government. Responding to the compelling need of the country to promote adult literacy and the objectives of National Education Policy, PTV devised and televisioned several major educational programmes covering adult functional literacy and formal school and college education.

An "Education Cell" was created. Programmes to produce television lessons for enhancing literacy were started. The UNICEF became the major funding agency in the whole operation. About 500 Community Centres were established in the country. Television sets, teachers, and primers were provided for each Centre. Arrangements for teaching male and female groups were made separately. Educational features like "Science Magazine" for students, National Geography, and Medical Education through "TV Clinic" were added to the ongoing programmes.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Educational Channel

Pakistan Television for the first time in 1982 established a separate division for producing and telecasting television programmes in education. Educational TV nonetheless is not yet a separate cadre but is working ad hoc. There has been a persistent demand from Education and other ministries to establish a separate second channel for education. A PCI was developed as early as in 1981 yet the decision to establish an educational channel seems to be a myth over the last seven eight years because the plan is neither shelved nor commissioned.

Thus use of audiovisual mass media for regular classroom teaching has remained negligible if not nonexistent. Political instability in the country since the time of independence and ambitious education policies given to the nation in quick succession were a great hinderance in acquiring modern techniques of teaching.

The PTV presented programmes on Adult Functional Literacy Project (AFL) spread over many cycles and ran full courses of hundreds of telelessons based on booklets and the primer, Naya Din (New Day). These lessons were telecasted twice a day except on Fridays. The transmissions were made separately for men and women who were enrolled in the Community Viewing Centres run by various governmental and nongovernmental agencies in the country. The adult viewers acquired basic literacy skills and insights into such practical subject areas as health and nutrition, saving and budgeting, child care, vegatable growing and agriculture.

The second move:
Allama Iqbal Open University and audiovisual mass media

The establishment of Open University in Pakistan in 1974 gave a new turn to the educational system. With its philosophy to provide education to all at the doorsteps, both visual and audio mass media assumed great prominance and significance.

The Allama Iqbal Open University relies on a multimedial approach for educating people even in the most remote corners of the country. Presently the University is offering 172 courses with its student enrolment of 76,937 and course enrolment of 157,748 (1988).

The radio and TV programmes related to study materials are transmitted to students on Fridays. The Institute of Educational Technology of the Open University is fully equipped with its radio and television studios and trained professional and technical staff. The University does not depend upon Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation or Pakistan Television Corporation for the production of its programmes. It has only to coordinate its activities with PBC and PTV for the scheduling of transmission programmes.

The PTV and the PBC transmissions support and supplement university courses from the Basic Functional Literacy to higher levels. In Autumn 1988, 16 courses were supported by radio at Intermediate level, 17 at B.A. level, 3 courses at Functional no credit, 4 courses at Matric level. TV provided such a support to 5 courses at Intermediate level, 4 courses at B.A., 3 at Functional no credit, and one course at Matriculation level.

Problems and prospects

High costs of transmission.

Highly innovative measures are replacing costly transmission through the production of audio/video cassettes, video discs, film slides, and flip charts.

Visual Literacy

The introduction of television into the educational process has created the need for visual literacy. The language of television is extremely rich, expressive, and powerful, but without the acquisition of visual literacy skills, viewers cannot obtain more than a shallow understanding of the content.

It takes a number of years for an educational television agency to develop the skilled man power necessary for striking a balance between the requirement of TV production and the objectives of the educators. Efforts are under way to use radio and television to support both formal and informal educational programmes in Pakistan. The dispersal of student groups of Allama Iqbal Open University as far away as the borders of the country itself has necessitated use of radio and television media to reach over 50,000 students each semester. The University has produced and transmitted 6350 radio and 1042 educational TV programmes since 1975-1976.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Coordination

There is a felt need that telecasting broadcasting agencies should maintain close coordination and collaboration with educational institutions for effective use of mass media at the national level. The absence of such an agency has reduced educational programmes to a bare minimum in actual operation.

Scheduling

The absence of an educational channel is damaging to the growth and expansion of education. This is so much so that educational television has been relegated to the lowest priority. Recreational programmes occupy prime time. Educational programmes have been shifted to odd hours so that the scheduling of popular recreational programmes remains undisturbed. There has been a persistent demand to have separate channels for radio and TV, exclusively for educational programmes with independant authorities comprising media and educational organizations on their governing boards.

Communication gap between academic and media personnel

Understanding between the academics and media men is most important for the successful and effective presentation of educational programmes through television. The difference of background and training between the two generally differs. This difference of perception about the role of the media in education causes great harm resulting in a "communication gap". This is what is happening in most of the developing countries. This gap must be removed in order to enable the two sides to appreciate the potentials and limitations of media with a proper perspective.

Training

It takes a number of years for an educational television agency to develop the skilled manpower necessary for striking a balance between the requirements of TV production and the objectives of the educators. There is dearth of trained manpower in Pakistan. Dependance on advanced countries for training in media techniques, particularly for producing educational programmes, is great. The training system needs to be institutionalised as an ongoing component of the media.

Conclusion

Many countries all over the world, especially those which are more primitive in their technological development, are relying more and more on ETV to help eradicate illiteracy and to train their people quickly and efficiently. Pakistan needs an educational channel to overcome much of the inaccessible problems. Educational television is bound to serve the people in that it represents another teacher in the team of teachers. It brings amazing experiences and change in the classroom ordinarily not possible.

Some openly accuse the mass media, and television in particular, of destroying the family, childrens' education, any form of leisure worthy of man, and communication between people. Many millions, however, all over the globe make use of the learning potentials of television. Particularly, the campaign against illiteracy has changed the very complexion of developing society.

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THE ROLE OF THE AUDIOVISUAL MASS MEDIA ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NIGERIAN CHILD

by Adjai N.D. Robinson

Many countries of the Third World had their traditional means of mass communication. West African countries in general, and Nigeria in particular, used those traditional means simultaneously with modern or western designed means up to quite recently. Unfortunately, however, almost all African countries were colonized by "advanced" nations. It was unwise for Africa's colonial masters to compel Africans to abandon their traditional means of mass communication entirely. With the obvious inadeqacies of Africans modern mass communication practices, it may become imperative for Africa's audiovisual mass media authorities to utilize both traditional and modern methods of mass communication. This is not going to be an easy task because even our educational system was, to a large extent, imposed upon us and therefore consciously and sometimes unconsciously ignored effective traditonal means of mass communication which could have formed the background for an effective and inexpensive use of audiovisual mass media techniques and equipment.

The nature of the Nigerian Society

Like most societies in the developing world the Nigerian society is made up mainly of two segments - the urban and the rural. The urban segment has been greatly under the influence of westernization thereby making it possible for western acculturation to take place. The rural segment has remained basically traditional even though it has not been completely devoid of some form of western influence. For instance, teaching in the schools in the rural areas is done with the same curriculum as in schools in the urban areas, and teachers are taken to colleges usually in the urban areas for training, after which some of them are drafted to the rural areas. On the negative side, there has allways been a huge drift from the rural to the urban areas.

Apart from Tanzania in East Africa, Nigeria stands singular in its attempt to reduce and even check the rural-urban drift and to make life more meaningful, more attractive, and more stable in the rural areas. The Federal Government has established a Directorate of Food, Roads, and Rural Infrastructure. The government has gone further by establishing a programme for the development of rural women and their adequate participation in national development. The rural child has not been left out in all these ventures. For although no specific programmes have been initiated for the rural child the nature of the Nigerian society is such that the child is generally the centre of most development programmes. In all these programmes and, in fact, in most earlier programmes of development, the audiovisual mass media have been employed. But the impact has not been assessed statistically; one is left with the impression that for one reason or another the greatest impact has not been made. It may be pertinent at this point to take a cursory glance at the history of audiovisual mass media in Nigeria with a view to ascertaining the clientele for which the programmes were designed.

History of the Audiovisual Mass Media in Nigeria

The introduction of mass media in Nigeria goes as far back as colonial times. The main medium then was the newsprint. The limitations were obvious. If for nothing else, the impact was restricted only to the group in which the circulation took place. Two other factors that further reduced its impact were the availability of funds to secure a continuous supply, and the ability to read in English and understand the contents of the columns. One major drawback was the very limited audience who could understand. The greater majority was illiterate in the colonial master's language in which the dailies were written. Nevertheless, educational broadcasting had gone much further than the printed word. This is because while the vehicle of communication of the dailies was only in English, radio broadcasts had a few programmes in the major native languages. It is pertinent to state in this article that small as the venture was then, educational broadcasting was started in Nigeria as far back as 1933. And "immediately after the British Broadcasting Company (BBC), London, transmitted the first programme in its West African Overseas Services, an article appeared in the

"Nigerian Teacher" urging the Nigerian government to introduce educational radio into the schools" (De Goshie 1986:4). This venture, however, did not catch on and it was not until about twenty years later in 1955 that the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation set up a commision to look into the possibility of establishing a schools broadcasting service in Nigeria. As a result of its recommendations, schools broadcasting started in Kaduna in Northern Nigeria in May, 1957. The education of the child through this mass medium was only indirectly catered for; the target audience was teacher training colleges and secondary schools. By Independence in 1960, however, an educational radio English series for Primary One had been introduced by the Schools Broadcasting Unit (SBU) in Kaduna.

The introduction of the most powerful audiovisual mass medium took place in 1961. The government of Northern Nigeria with the support of USAID and various U.K. companies introduced classroom teaching programmes through television. The use of television as a medium of instruction was given a great impetus in 1972 when the National Educational Technology Centre in Kaduna introduced the children's television series, "Sesame Street". This television programme is not indigenous to Nigeria although it has an appeal for children worldwide.

Recent developments in Nigeria's radio and television programmes have focused on indigenous concepts and programmes that do have almost total appeal to the various ethnic audiences and educational levels in Nigeria; programmes whose base is relevant to the experience of the participants and rooted in the country's culture are being put out by the nation's radio and television stations.

There is no doubt that recently these audiovisual mass media have had considerable impact as instruments of educating the Nigerian populace. These non-print media transcend space and time. Both can reach large, varied, and unknown masses of people simultaneously and directly. With the nature of the Nigerian society as it is today, the greater part of the society being rural and therefore physically remote from the government and national development, over 80 per cent of the population is connected to various state governments only through radio. Several studies around the world have shown that radio is the medium with the widest audience in terms of numbers. In Africa in particular radio is said to be "a high access medium from the point of view both of distribution and reception. No other medium, channel or technology offers so feasible a promise for the democratization of education. Apart from individual capacity for learning, nothing needs constrain the radio listener from benefitting from an education programme - not age, not sex, not the lack of certificates or transport or clean clothes and all the other barriers that effectively select who may benefit from traditional modes of education."(Quarmyne 1985: 3). If organized properly, radio programmes will turn out to be the most effective, cheap, and popular tool of the audiovisual mass media in educating the Nigerian child. But before attention is focused on this form of the media, a discussion of one more medium would be in place.

For quite some time in West Africa in general and in Nigeria in particular the 16mm film constituted an important medium of education. Documentary films on various topics of the syllabus were put on screen on a weekly basis for the benefit of secondary school learners. These films were shown free of charge at various centres and could be shown in schools on request. The topics were restricted to those needed for examination purposes and the audience was limited to secondary school pupils of the upper forms. The primary and nursery school child was left out and, also were its teachers. Not only were the topics covered academic, they were reduced to examination dimension.

The Integrity of the Audiovisual Mass Media

The impact or influence of any gadget on the masses must carry an integrity that is widely accepted by the majority of the people. A number of factors can enhance the status and popularity of the items of the audiovisual massmedia. In the audiovisual category the greatest contributory factor seems to be the quality of the programmes. For the masses to be influenced in a particular way the programmes must hold an appeal for them. They must see some relevance with their lifestyles, some connection with their culture and, in fact, the attainment of the objectives of the programmes must be feasible within a fairly short time. This seem to be the fulcrum of any programmes that are designed to educate. This can be contrasted with political programmes which are full of slogans and propaganda that may never be concrete.

Availibility and accessibility of the particular medium also are factors that cannot but be considered. Thus although the television and 16mm film combine the sense of hearing with that of seeing, the costs and delicacy of the equipment put them out of reach of the grassroot masses. If well organized, however, and probably supported by government by way of locating mass viewing centres in various places, the application of media in education can maximize the use of a nation's availible meagre resources.

Media establishments tend to have better resources and facilities at their disposal. Since a producer of an educational media programme is a subject-matter specialist with a team of research assistants, s/he can produce instructional programmes of a much higher quality than an individual instructor in a traditional environment. This is particularly true in education. The status can be further maintained when the mass communication they produce and the education activities they generate can have "epidemic" effect on the audience. When everyone sees every other person responding to the same message s/he is likely to be motivated to join in.

The Structure of the Family of the Nigerian Masses

In Nigeria, and indeed in West Africa, the neighbourhood has a marked influence on the child. There is hardly any family that can be called nuclear. Physical and blood boundaries become dislimned so that there is free and regular social intercourse among children of the same neighbourhood. In the rural areas they gather together of their own volition excursions regularly to play or go on unorganized excursions. This may be said for children in the urban areas but their coming together by themselves is not as regular. Because of the dangers posed to children in urban areas, parents usually keep a watchful eye on their children's movements and activities. Nevertheless, in urban towns, children are brought together from time to time, either by National Library authorities as in Sierra Leone and Nigeria, or by radio and television authorities as in Lagos, Kaduna and Enugu in Nigeria, to tell and listen to stories or to engage in other educational activities like drama production.

In addition to this there are special radio and television programmes for children at specified times. Most of these programmes have both an entertaining and an educational component, although it has not yet been ascertained wether they are having the maximum desired impact on the child. There is ample evidence, however, that broadcasting as a tool of the audiovisual mass medium has been making some impact on Nigeria's children and their parents. In the majority of families who do not possess a television set, the transistor radio is made to be a centre of attraction and learning. In the evening when children's programmes are broadcast in the various Nigerian languages, parents gather their children around the radio to listen. It is not infrequent to see grandparents listening attentively too. The themes of such programmes have a strong local flavour and therefore hold a very great appeal for the local people. The impact of broedcasting as a tool of the audiovisual mass medium is so much that we can safely say that this particular audiovisual mass medium is satisfying three of the five goals set out by Sarnoff (1966:268):

1. Broadcasting as a mass medium best serves the public interest through programming which meets the desires and interests of the majority of the people.
2. Broadcasting depends on public acceptance of its programmes in competition with all other forms of entertainment and information and can best serve the public through the free play of competition, and with a minimum of government regulation.
3. Broadcasting is the nation's greatest unifying communication force in peace or war, and is entitled to the standing and privileges of other free communication media.

When applied to the use of the audiovisual mass media in educating the Nigerian child, Sarnoff's goals are met.

The Audiovisual Mass Media Programmes for Children:

The audiovisual mass media in Nigeria play some role in the development of the child. In the first place there are a number of entertainment programmes produced for children on television and radio. The impact of these programmes is especially good in that they are done in various indigenous languages, and at times in broken and/or proper English. Story telling programmes on radio focus on traditional folktales of Africa, tales on which Social Studies and Mythology units can be built. Usually African folktales have a moral at the end, and this contributes to the character building of the child.

In Africa the oral tradition carried a lot of weight. Traditionally it was the practice in every family to educate and build their children's character through folktales told by grandparents and peers. This was a regular evening exercise especially during and immediately after the harvest season. In some ethnic groups also, local communinity centres, round and spacious mud huts, were built near the centre of the town or village and children would assemble there for story telling. This was an important exercise for all children as their first lessons in history was by this means. In Africa's "bush schools" one of the earliest items on the curriculum was the history of the tribe through songs and stories. This practice had as its side effects a getting together and sharing. There is no doubt that it developed a powerful memory in the African. Unfortunately, this practice is fast dying out, yielding its place to the audiovisual mass media. On televison now is "The Tales by Moonlight" programme in which stories are not merely told but dramatized.

The effect of these audiovisual mass media activities on the education of the Nigerian child could have been greater had certain steps been taken:

1. Teachers involvement in planning and writing up the programmes should be formal.
2. For almost all programmes children's ideas should be the basis.
3. Children themselves could be encouraged and taught to write and produce their own programmes.
4. The various school authorities should be aware of the times of broadcast and thus build these times into the school's time table.
5. Likewise for broadcasts outside school hours, parents should be encouraged by the media stations and by the school to see that their children listen to and participate in the programmes.
6. As has been done in Nigeria in the recent past, local government authorities should organize viewing centres where children whose parents cannot afford the electronic equipment can assemble to watch programmes.
7. Public libraries, working in collaboration with media stations and the schools, should secure films and cassettes to show to children at regular times.

As has been pointed out above, attention has always been paid in Nigeria to the audiovisual mass media and education. It was with this in view that the Schools Broadcasting Unit started in Northern Nigeria in May, 1957, to be followed shortly after by the Western Region. It was in the mid-fifties that Nigeria fully started using the audiovisual mass media as a tool for educating its citizens. Attention was first paid to teacher education as the programmes then placed a greater emphasis on teacher training. At the dawn of Independence, however, programmes directly for the Nigerian child in the primary school started with the radio English series.

It can be said of the programmes then that they reached the Nigerian child. All schools in most of the then twelve states of the Federation used the programmes with their children in proper classroom settings. The Schools Broadcast Unit at that time took the trouble to circulate the broadcasts timetables a few weeks before the beginning of term. A survey of a number of primary schools in selected local government areas of Lagos State by the author revealed that lessons to be broadcast had direct relevance with the primary school and teaching syllabus and, in addition, headmasters and headmistresses scheduled periods for follow-up activities. The Schools Broadcast's authorities also admitted that the financial resources were healthy then, but these have been dwindling over the years. Because the programmes were designed for both the teacher training colleges and the primary schools, teachers were able to handle broadcast lessons skillfully and so increase the impact which was made on their pupils.On the other hand, however, it must be pointed out that the majority of Nigerian children live in the rural areas were there is no electricity to run the radio and television sets. But for the traditional means of education in the rural societies, the rural child hardly benefits from audiovisual mass media programmes. With the present government's emphasis on rural electrification, however, the rural child has started benefitting from audiovisual programmes.

There is no doubt that the television is the strongest educational mass medium. Indeed, one of the delegates to the 1964 UNESCO conference in Lagos had this to say about television in Africa:

> "Of all the mass media, television is undoubtedly the most powerful and effective combining image with sound, it constitutes a complete medium intelligible to all the intellectual as well as the illiterate" (Bass:1969).

Shortly after this UNESCO conference and probably based on its deliberations, television services covering a few important towns in the North were established in March, 1962. In the case of educational television, however, it was not until 1972, when the National Educational Technology Centre (NETC) in Kaduna introduced the Children's Television series, that this audiovisual mass medium began to play a significant role in the education of the Nigerian child. In addition, it was by this introduction that the NETC started performing fairly adequately the functions for which it was set up; as listed below:

1. The designing, development, and production of instructional materials for use in educational institutions throughout the country.
2. The training of educational broadcasters for national and state educational broadcasting services.
3. The development and production of Educational Television and Radio programmes for national distribution and consumption.

4. The training of visual aids technologists in still photography and cinematography and teaching aids development and construction
5. The organization and conduction of workshops and seminars for teachers on the use and application of broadcast media and audiovisual aids for classroom instruction.
6. The establishment of a national library of resource materials and equipment.
7. The operation of a central information bank for the centralization of information concerning broadcast and visual media and corresponding technology for dissemination throughout the country.
8. The operation of consultancy services to the Federal and State Governments in the field of educational broadcast media and visual aids technologies.

These functions when, fully performed by the NETC, will enhance the profitability of audiovisual mass media to the Nigerian child. Although the availibility of funds have constituted an important constraint on the achievement of its goals, it is pertinent to point out that a number of educational programmes are transmitted daily both on radio and television. The radioprogrammes include:

"English Playschool"	Primary 1
"Enjoying English"	Primary 2
"Life in our village"	Upper Primary
"Hausa by Radio"	Primary classes
"Beginning Sciences"	Junior Sec. & T.T.C.
"An Inspector Talks"	T.T.C.

These radio programmes, in addition to regular air transmissions throughout the country, are also available on audio cassette tapes for all teachers, students, or educational institutions which may desire them. In addition, there are available a Teacher's Handbook and a Students' Workbook for follow-up activities.

Like its radioprogrammes, the NETC's television programmes cater for all levels of education including adult and general public education. Some of the programmes are: "Health education", "Choosing a Career", "French for Beginners" "Sesame Street", "Happy Mathematics", "Practical Biology", and "The Plant World".

Media packages and teaching kits are produced by the Centre, and as is done with radio programmes, all educational television programmes are available on video tapes for those who desire to secure them.

Reaching the Nigerian Child:

One cannot state categorically that Nigerian's audiovisual mass media programmes are reaching the masses of Nigeria's children for whom they are designed. In the first place, there are many activities competing for the child's time. Some formal organization of the child's time has to be made; this is apart from the fact that schools must make provision on their time-tables as had been done in the sixties, for listening and viewing programmes and getting feedbacks on them. What may be a most useful exercise in organizing for mass media activities is to get parents and guardians in the various local communities to understand the importance of mass media programmes and encourage their children to pay attention to these programmes. In this regard there must be departure from the usual school for academic topics. Focus on culture, focus on customs and traditions, programmes in local languages, local history, local health and medicinal practices, and in traditional religions, wild life, etc. would arouse interest in both young and old alike. Such programmes will constitute a tremendous reïnforcement to learning activities in the school. In effect, audiovisual mass media can be used to bring out those aspects of the life of a community which, though existing in that community, have either been taken too much for granted or have simply been ignored. As is stated by Keapper,

> "... mass communication seems in the main to buttress and reïnforce the views already held by its audience ...People's social contacts, and the way they obtain information, also contribute to the tendency of mass communication to be reinforcive " (1970:285).

Conclusion:

The population of young participants in education has been on the increase in Nigeria. It has not been easy for existing school plants to cope with this population explosion; numbers are far in excess of facilities. One way out of this tight situation, therefore, is to use the audiovisual mass media to its fullest capacity. If this is done the average Nigerian child can be assured of some education. But for the venture to achieve any set goals the designers and organizers must agree on the following points (Van den Berghe et al. 1986:110):

-the exchange of experiences and the pointing out of trouble-spots

- the exchange of ideas regarding development of software
- the common development of the framework and the resulting course plan
- mutual support as regards internal expertise
- giving each other critical feedback
- attending to the collection of evaluation data

These points, when taken account of, will help all those involved in putting out audiovisual mass media programmes to enhance the impact of the media on the Nigerian child. Finally, the government's backing is necessary for the ventures in using the mass media in educating the Nigerian child. This is because it is likely that only the government can service satisfactorily the various components that go into succesful audiovisual mass media programmes. These components according to Lee Loevinger include:

> "The engineering or technical frame of reference encompasses what is known as "information theory" and has to do with the models and instruments of encoding...; the psychological processes involved; or consideration of linguistic and other symbols as means of encoding and decoding information. Economic analysis has to do, of course, with the financial aspects of communications. The semantic aspect of mass communication...is the one that has to do with the meaning and significance of what is communicated".

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THE IMPLICATION OF AUDIOVISUAL MASS MEDIA ON EDUCATIONAL OPERATIONS IN NIGERIA

Joshua Ojo Oni

The value of audiovisual mass media for educational implementation in Nigeria is considered in this study. Relative points associated with the contribution of audiovisual mass media to educational operation world wide was assembled through review of the literature. Facts about educational curriculum and audiovisual mass media in Nigeria were collected through observation and oral interview. 638 professionals were selected randomly in twelve states to take part in the study. 138 selected institutions at primary, secondary, and tertiary level were visited by 35 final year students at the special education department of the University of Jos.

The findings indicated that rural areas lack the technology for audiovisual mass media and even some city schools are in short supply of the technology. That is why the majority of the students are not benefiting from such facility or may not benefit unless adequate plans are made.

Although the professionals agreed that the media are essential for proper implementation of the national educational curriculum, the government is economically handicapped and cannot fund the project at the present time.

While the government of Nigeria is urged to liaise with international bodies to provide the technology, the WCCI is advised to consider it as a viable project to invest in.

Introduction

In consideration of the contribution of literacy to proper independence of all citizens Nigeria evolved a new educational policy in 1977. The philosophy enshrined in the policy is based on the development of individuals into sound and effective citizens through equal education opportunities for all at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels both inside and outside the formal school system. The regular school curriculum and additional curricula would be implemented throughout the country.

This unique curriculum aims at attacking the deadly hand of illiteracy which is the main disease pestering the life of Nigeria as it does in other developing countries. The curriculum covers comprehensive learning by all citizens including normal children and adults, and exceptional children and adults.

Since its inception this wonderful project has been facing common problems faced by other projects in developing countries. The geopolitical makeup of Nigeria shows that the majority of the citizens are still located in the rural or subrural areas of the country. This rural areas are yet to be adequately equipped with a motorable road network, electrical facilities, and necessary technological know-how which would facilitate adequate communication between the central offices of the institutions based in the big cities and the village schools where the majority of the children are placed. In addition the present economic situation has made it impossible for schools in the towns and cities to have even a minimum of educational materials and facilities, much less more sophisticated equipment like motion pictures, projectors, films, and television.

Notwithstanding these problems the succes of Nigerian educational operations is contingent upon adequate communication. Audiovisual mass media may help us reach all the citizens in every part of the country.

This paper considers the value of audiovisual mass media for education universally, outlines its present contribution to education in Nigeria, analyses the difficulties facing its effectiveness in the implementation of the curriculum, and suggests what can be done to improve the present standard of its effectiveness in Nigeria.

Statement of the problem

Based on the above premises, this research seeks answers to the following questions:

- What are the contributions of mass media to the operation of education in Nigeria?
- In what ways can the status of mass media in Nigeria be improved to meet the challenges created by the country's new education philosophy?

Methodology

This research was conducted through the review of relevant literature, books and documents. Observation was used to collect facts about the state of mass media in relation to education in the country. Oral interviews were conducted to sample the opinion of people and professionals about the situation. Subjects for the Study were 638 professionals (teachers, tutors, and lecturers) from the 138 selected institutions (81 primary, 52 secondary, and 5 tertiary) in the twelve states of the country. These states chosen for the study were Plateau, Benue, Bauchi, Anambra, Oyo, Kaduna, Lagos, Bendel, Kano, Kwara, Cross River, and Gongola. The selection was done based upon the location of the capitals of three earlier regions where education and technology were centered.

35 final year students from the Special Education Department of the University of Jos took part in the study. These students visited the 138 institutions selected, observed the situation, and used a twelve question questionnaire to sample the opinion of the professionals on the subject matter. The areas covered by the research had the following observational points of reference:

1. The environment of the institution,
2. Mass media facilities,
3. Other educational facilities, and
4. Observable problems.

The questionnaire was developed by the author on the implication of audiovisual mass media on education operations in Nigeria. A modified Likert type questionnaire method comprising three response options (agree, disagree and neutral) was used to collect the respondents' opinions. Simple percentage statistics was used to analyse the data gathered. Eight hunderd questionnaires were distributed and 638 were returned adequately completed.

The data on observation were collected through oral interviews and the observer's judgement of the situation. Any school with correlative positive condition to the observation question is classified, YES, and those with negative correlation are classified, NO, (see the data on tables 2-4). The general observed problems are presented on table 5.

Review of Literature

The relevancy of audiovisual mass communication to education has been confirmed many times by many professionals in the field of education and information. Harvey (1977) affirmed that the invention of television has been claimed as an efficient means of transmitting public education. Bending (1970) defines television as the modern counterpart of rhetoric. It delivers its message in a manner that allows no interruptions, no argument, and no demand for explanation until the discourse is over. In this way it encourages keen attention and proper note taking during the lesson hour rather than poor attention. In his comment, Daniel Smith (1975) posited that the ability of modern electronics to bring learners from different geographical areas together in an instructional system was reached by the invention of film and television most especially. With few exceptions, Fredric Breitenfield (1970) stated: " Television is usually simply imposed on long-established curriculum and administrative systems. As such, television becomes an addendum and adjuct and ultimately an insignificant line item in the school budgeting. Solid attempts to use the medium effectively for instructional purpose are few". Television has the potential as do films, Breilenfield continues, for presenting examples of things that cannot be otherwise seen during or in school. For example, snow can be shown in African schools, as well as the Desert, the second world war, and the effect of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It can bring current events into contact with millions of students as in the case of the "Sesame Street" programme. It can develop instructional systems which are sophisticated, appealing, and effective for special groups of children, particularly where many channels are available through educational broadcasting, cable television, and satellite relayed television.

John Morland (1968) asserted that mass media have for some time been accepted as valuable learning resources. In recent years the overhead projector,tape recorders, films, tape learning, T.V., and even computer controlled instruction have been used succesfully in schools. Such media have been designed with flexible arrangements for large group instruction and individual study. Under this arrangement, essential educational experiences are made available in the classroom. Programs are bringing visitors from other lands into the classroom via media, and cultural enrichment in areas of music and art have well been received by many teachers and students. Specialists in many fields who are unable to visit each and every classroom in person have been showing their talents and experiences throughout the educational forum.

In his comments about "Sesame Street" G.S. Lesser (1972) stated that the programme aims at teaching school related skills.

Its appeal is far more extensive because it combines entertainment with instruction with emphasy on young children. It blends colour with music and entertainment.

Grace Ngozi Ngwu (1988) showed that in Nigeria films help to teach some topics which would have been hard to discuss as accurately. She also demonstrated that audiovisuals motivate students, assures their focusing on points, and allows for the explanation of details in a clear manner.

Grace Ebere Aduiku (1986), in her research on the use of audiovisual teaching aids in the English language, established that teaching aids and especially TV aroused students interest in the State of Imoin Nigeria. It makes them concentrate and improve their performances, and gave them a better chance to participate in the lessons.

According to Lesser (1974), the more often children watch, the greater the improvement in their skills. The middle class also watches these education programmes and they seem to benefit as much or more than disadvantaged children.

It is obvious that social environment has a strong influence on the development of behaviour. Therefore it can be assumed that widespread watching of educational television common in the social environment of middleclass children maintains greater literacy of advantaged children over disadvantaged children.

Schell (1975) stated that in advanced countries it is virtually impossible to grow up without being exposed to heavy doses of television: Whereas in developing countries television and film are still luxuries. The desparity in academic performances and general education performances in the advanced and developing countries may be in association, in part, with the presence and absence of audiovisual mass media.

In order to assist children to learn effectively from mass media it is imperative that teachers must be acquainted with the information and have the knowledge of utilizing it rightly with respect to relevant aspects of the curriculum. The student must be prepared to receive the dose. Although the mass media are yet to be put into proper use in Nigeria and other developing countries at the present time, the ability of the students to assimilate the information presented in the media is contingent on follow-up practices. Like in other nations all over the world, in Nigeria this is best done through role-playing, workbooks, class discussion, tests and writing.

TABLE 1: Showing the responses of the professional at the three levels of institutions (University, secondary, and elementary) in Nigeria to the questionnaire on the implications of audiovisual mass media on educational operations in Nigeria.

Key: A= Agree
D= Disagree
N= Neutral

	University			Secondary			Elementary		
	A	D	N	A	D	N	A	D	N
1. The provision for mass media facilities is adequate in my institution.	38.5% (40)	61.5% (64)	-	27.6% (58)	72.4% (152)	-	6.1% (20)	80.% (259)	13.9% (45)
2. Audiovisual equipment is constantly used in the presentation of class lessons in the institution.	12.1% (15)	62.1% (77)	25.8% (32)	11.9% (25)	69% (145)	19.1% (40)	6.6% (20)	86.5% (263)	6.9% (21)
3. You are familiar with programmes constantly presented on radio or TV.	-	100% (124)	-	88.6% (186)	11.4% (24)	-	69.4% (211)	30.6% (93)	-
4. Audiovisual aids like radio, TV, and others are a necessary luxury in the classroom or the institution.	100% (124)	-	-	81% (170)	13.3% (28)	5.7% (12)	24.3% (74)	56.6% (172)	19.1% (58)
5. All teachers can easily collect the facts from mass media presentation.	-	100% (124)	-	34.8% (73)	48.6% (102)	16.6% (35)	38.5% (117)	61.5% (187)	-

6. All teachers can easily interprete the information collected from mass media presentation.	-	100% (124)	-	38.1% (80)	47.6% (100)	14.3% (30)	38.5% (117)	61.5% (187)	-
7. Audiovisual mass media would assist learning in the institution.	100% (124)	-	-	100% (210)	-	-	86.8% (304)	3/4	-
8. Teachers should be given in service training on mass media usage in the classroom.	100% (124)	-	-	100% (210)	-	-	100% (304)	-	-
9. Children gain more through practical presentation common to television programmes.	100% (124)	-	-	100% (210)	-	-	100% (304)	-	-
10. It is the responsibility of the government to equip the institution with mass media facilities.	100% (124)	-	-	100% (210)	-	-	100% (304)	-	-
11. It is necessary to educate the students on sceduled TV or radio educational programmes.	100% (124)	-	-	86.2% (181)	-	13.8% (29)	40.5% (123)	22.4% (68)	37.1% (113)
12. It is necessary to discuss the essential factors in the programme after the presentation.	100% (124)	-	-	95.2% (200)	-	4.8% (10)	44.3% (135)	24.3% (74)	31.3% (95)
	N=124			N=210			N=304		

EDUCATIONAL OPERATIONS IN NIGERIA

The results of this research reveal authentic information about the position of mass media in educational delivery in Nigeria. Established in response to questions one and two is the fact that the number of mass media facilities is inadequate in Nigerian institutions; 67,7% of university lecturers, 72,4% of secondary institution tutors, and 78,6% of elementary school teachers support this opinion. Although according to question two audiovisual equipment is not in constant use in the classroom, according to responses to questions 6 and 8 it is believed that mass media would assist teaching and learning. The results also reveal that teachers need to be reeducated in the utilization of mass media. All of the repondent lecturers, 48% of tutors, and 61,5% of the teachers indicate that teachers cannot handle information from mass media programmes properly. All the respondents unanimously agree that all teachers be given in service training on the use of mass media in the classroom. The issue of discussing programmes before or after presentation in order to assist the children's understanding is indicated in the responses to question 11 and 12. All of the responses for question 10 support the fact that the government should equip the schools with mass media facilities.

TABLE 2: Showing the results of environmental conditions of the institutions in the rural and urban areas of Nigeria as observed by the investigators.

	URBAN		RURAL	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
1. The environment of the institution is within normal standards regarding regular classroom equipment and material.	75.6% (59)	24.4% (19)	37% (22)	63% (38)
2. The classroom situation is a good learning environment	66.7% (52)	33.3% (26)	33.6% (20)	66.7% (40)
3. The Institution has electricity	66.7% (52)	33.3% (26)	21.7% (13)	78.3% (47)
4. The institutional environment is well organised for the stimulation of children to learn.	56.4% (44)	43.6% (34)	38.3% (23)	61.7% (37)

The results show that urban institutions are more suitable for learning than the rural ones are. 75,6% have adequate class equipment in urban areas whereas only 37% of the rural areas do. 66,7% have suitable environment including electricity, while in the rural areas the percentages are 33% and 22% respectively. The environments of 56,4% of the urban institutions is well organised for learning while such an environment was found in only 38% of the rural institutions visited.

TABLE 3: Showing the results of institutions with mass media facilities in the urban and rural areas of Nigeria as observed by the investigators.

	URBAN		RURAL	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
1. The institution has TV, radio, and other audio-visual mass media facilities.	29.5% (23)	70.5% (55)	0% (-)	100% (60)
2. The institution is located close to a mass media station.	33.3% (26)	66.7% (52)	0% (-)	100% (60)
3. The institution has been involved in TV or radio programme presentation.	41% (32)	59% (46)	0% (-)	100% (60)
4. Competent teachers to handle mass media are available at the institution.	10.3% (8)	89.7% (70)	0% (-)	100% (60)
	n=78		n=60	

From every indication the findings show that few institutions in the urban area and none in the rural areas have facilities or professionals to handle mass media programmes.

TABLE 4: Showing the availability of other educational facilities in the urban and rural areas of Nigeria as observed by the investigators.

	URBAN		RURAL	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
1. The institution has well equipped library.	66.7% (52)	33.3% (26)	41.7% (25)	58.3% (35)
2. The institution has a resource centre.	14.1% (11)	85.9% (67)	41.7% (25)	58:3% (35)
3. The institution has a workshop centre for technical learning.	35.9% (28)	64.1% (50)	0% (-)	100% (60)
4. The institution has adequate playgrounds for recreation, sports, and games.	80.8% (63)	19.2% (15)	88.3% (53)	11.7% (7)
	n=78		n=60	

The data show that the institutions have libraries and playgrounds but are not adequately equipped with resource centres and workshops which are essential for learning and can aid mass media programmes.

TABLE 5: Showing some observable problems at the urban and rural institutions in Nigeria as identified by the investigators.

Urban Institutions	Rural Institutions
-Many classrooms lack normal teaching aids.	-The majority of the institutions are without electricity.
-Some schools are without adequate learning facilities (desks, seats)	-There are no good roads leading to many of the schools.
-Specialist teachers to handle media programmes are in high shortage.	-Normal teaching aids are in short supply in many of the schools.
-Many are overpopulated.	-Some schools still have thatched roofs and are in poor condition.
-Mass media programmes are not included in the curriculumplan.	-Mass media infrastructures are not available in the close proximity.
-Some schools are without electricity.	-Many school buildings are not in good condition.
-Lack of funds for the programme.	-Lack of funds for the programme.
-Many schools do not have mass media equipment.	

As seen in the general report of the investigators the identified problems are in the area of general educational infrastructure and professional competency. The problems are more pronounced in the rural area than the urban centres. Many rural institutions, most especially at the elementary level, are in a deplorable condition. Electricity, good roads, and a physical plant to aid the mass media programme are totally absent in many cases. The greatest problem of all is the lack of funds to sponsor the programme.

Discussion

Due to influence of many fundamental factors like economy, technological availability, national advancement status, Nigeria like many other developing nations has not really enjoyed the effects of audiovisual mass media on education. Although research conducted in city schools by Grace E. Adiuku (1986) and G.S. Ngwu (1988) indicated that children who watch "Sesame Street" and other educational TV programmes in Nigeria are performing well in their academic activities, a very small percentage of the children have the opportunity. When examining the comprehensive curriculum Nigeria has just introduced, including the Open University System, audiovisual mass media appear essential for its implementation. The Federal Government promised in its bulletin, December 1975, to make television achieve an objective of assisting education, in order to enlighten and motivate the nation (Faraumb: 1985). Girgis Salama (1985) declared that such achievement is still a promise because television has not reached the rural areas of Nigeria. The few stations which exist still only serve city dwellers and the elite who can own a television. The findings in this research indicate that the facts established by Girgis (1985) is still valid today.

Basically the notable bottle neck in providing this medium centers around the lack of good roads, the lack of electricity, poor facilities, the lack of funds, and the present national economic strangulation.

Adding to the problem of using mass media in the school in this country is the lack of competent teachers who have the relevant skills to direct the students about the right utilisation of mass media. I mean teachers that have these skills:

- the ability to select the right programmes relevant to the subject matter.
- the ability to discuss what to look for and to direct students to plan for it.
- the ability to interprete abstract information and communicate it to the students.
- the ability to summarise or outline essential information to guide the students.
- the ability to evaluate what the students have learnt.

Having capable teachers would help students develop the following essential skills for optimum utilization of mass media:

- skills to do independent study or research.
- skills to coordinate the three main domains, cognitive, affective, and psychomotoric, for the purpose of investigation that would lead to invention.
- skills in abstract thinking to explore practical experience.

With the development of such skills both the teacher and the students could develop new approaches to our situation through learning from others ideas, cultures, findings, and inventions. This would keep them closer to others in other nations and shorten the distance between this country and others throughout the world.

The absence of audiovisual mass media in the operation of the curriculum maintains the great and notable disparity in educational performances and worldly knowledge of children in urban and village areas. While city children who have acces to the TV are familiar with issues like the Olympics, some children in the remote villages may not even have a dictionary in order to look up the definition of the word Olympics. As a result of this bottle neck the promised egalitarian educational curriculum seems only rethorically in operation in Nigeria.

Suggestions

As a solution to these problems, these factors may be considered:

1. Rural electrification and development must be prime in the national programme for advancement.
2. International assistance may be sought whereby the areas that can not benefit from national electrification system may be equiped by local electrical plants.
3. Mass media satellite receivers need to be established in local government areas to transmit the information to all schools in within the local government area.
4. All schools should be equipped with audiovisual equipment to educate the children.
5. Resource Centres must be built in locations central to all the schools in order to supply the schools with equipment, materials, and information.
6. International organization like (WCCI) World Council of Curriculum and Instruction may consider a project to

assist the developing countries who are facing the difficulties in order to employ a useful education curriculum worldwide.

Conclusion

The intention of the Nigerian government to improve the national literacy level has prompted it to develope a new educational policy that emphasizes a comprehensive curriculum. Contigent to the effective implementation of such a curriculum are the audiovisual mass media, i.e. all means of communication and most especially television and films, in order to facilitate adequate dissemination of information from the cities to the rural areas. Such a communication system is also essential to present many subjects that may be difficult to explain.

Investigation has shown that although a majority of Nigerian live in rural areas, the infrastructure for mass media is not readily available in rural areas and is in short supply in the towns and cities. Therefore, the government is urged to make provisions and plans to provide essential technology and materials in order to assure the success of the wonderful egalitarian educational curriculum posited by Nigeria.

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AUDIOVISUAL MASS MEDIA EDUCATION FOR CREATIVE CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND PRACTICE IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE: A CASE STUDY IN NIGERIA

by M. Olu. Odusina

Abstract

This article discusses the current situation of Audiovisual Mass Media (AVM) Education in Curriculum Development and Practice. Specific questions focus on the area of what, how, and why educators (teachers)/students should learn about/through AVM (especially film and television).

Studies in which experimental models for AVM Education in Creative English Language Curriculum Development and Practice were used by this writer in Nigeria are highlighted. Findings and short-term as well as long-term recommendations for possible adaptation of AVM Education both nationally and internationally towards achieving an effective lifelong creative education for the masses in the 21st century are discussed.

Introduction

In this paper I will demonstrate two things: first, that there is no use of audiovisual mass media in any curriculum whatsoever in Nigeria at present, and second, that there should be. To make the first point, an overview of the situation at our institutions of education will be given. Subsequently two studies will be discussed that show the potential and the necessity of the use of audiovisual mass media in this country, especially as a means of developing and enhancing the ability to use language in a creative fashion.

A CASE STUDY

State of the art in Nigeria primary, secondary, and tertiary levels

Aliyu (1980), in a study of the primary school teacher's language behavioural pattern, finds that emphasis is laid on the facts that the teacher teaches about the language and spends little time on the ways in which language is actually used. Consequently, pupils are not given the opportunity to practice the language in any creative way. Other researchers (Orisawaji 1985, Ubahakwe and Obi 1979, Odusina 1987a: 1-58, Ofuokwu 1984: 22, Adetuyibi and Osundahunsi 1984: 33, Okezi 1984, and Oluikpe and Nwaegbe 1979: 255-266) found the teaching/learning of all subjects across the curriculum in our school systems (primary, secondary, and tertiary levels) are dominated by teachers (educators) while the students are kept docile in the background. They are not given the opportunity to learn creatively and participatively. As Halliday (1967) puts it, "linguistic creativity is a remarkable goal for all children." Educators, therefore, need to strive to encourage linguistic creativity in all their students.

In terms of ownership of facilities for broadcasting films on television on a national basis in Nigeria, this writer conducted a recent interview with the Director of the National Educational Technology Centre (NETC) at Kaduna, Dr.Joe De-Goshie, which revealed that the centre was established as a School Radio Broadcasting Station in 1953. Although the centre has inherited film and television facilities and staff from other federal government bodies, e.g., National Resource Centre, Lagos 1977, and the outlined FUNCTIONS of the body sound impressive, this writer feels strongly that if half of the listed functions of the establishment could be implemented functionally, the current zero state of affairs on AVM Education on a national basis would improve positively. With all the facilities for promoting AVM Education available at NETC Kaduna, one would expect to find, read, and observe many progressive reports, research publications, and National Educational Television Programmes from NETC featured in all nooks and corners in the country. Unfortunately, there is nothing like that so far. Andrew A. Nkom (1987: 315-324) conducted a study in which he discovered the presence of film/television facilities in 13 Nigerian Universities. Yet these facilities are not used. Only the Medical Units use some of the facilities. If these were used, teaching/learning in our universities would improve. What then is the situation of AVM in curriculum development in Nigeria?

A CASE STUDY

Audiovisual mass media education in curriculum development in Nigeria

This writer makes bold to say that AVM does not feature at any level of our education. Teaching/learning techniques are far from being creative (Odusina, M.Olu. 1977, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1988d, 1988e, 1988f) and AVM education is not included in the curriculum at any level.

The regular national and/or state "Instructional Television Programmes" (ITV) cannot be mistaken for the type of AVM education we are discussing here for the following reasons:

1. The so-called "Instructional Television Programmes" (ITV) which usually start around 3 p.m., i.e., after school hours, on many stations, cannot be used in schools by educators/students for obvious reasons; the students are gone out of the school premises. The possibilities to receive ITV lessons are practically nil. It is only on weekends that some of the television stations start in the mornings at 9 a.m. and even on such days when most families are home, there are no instructional programmes designed for classroom educational purposes.
   Moreover, the percentage of ownership of television (as shown by research results) among Nigerian families is as low as 9% and this low percentile score occur among the majority of the upper, middle and lower middle classes who can mainly afford to purchase television. Yet, another interesting aspect is the fact that even among families who own television sets, they use it mainly to listen news, comedies and other forms of entertainment/relaxation programmes. It is only among very few families that one would find those who use the television for gathering educational information/data.

2. Almost all our schools do *not* have television sets provided for use. The few institutions with television sets do not use them. The sets are either neatly packed away in the Headteacher's office, the school's store, or in the school library if a school library exists.

3. Some of the educators live very far away from their places of work and could not have arrived home by the time the programmes are on the air. In other cases, the educators have other part-time jobs that will earn them some extra

finances, hence they head for such activities immediately after school hours instead of going home to watch ITV.

4. Apart from the fact that most of the students do not have access to television sets, even in cases where some of them have access to television, they are on their way home struggling to get transport at the various bus stations around the time that ITV is on. Some students may have to join their parent(s) at work and wait for them to close around 4 p.m. before they set out for home thus arriving home late. A few other students may have to leave school and set out for "extra lesson hours" (coaching) thus having no access/ time to watch ITV.

5. Even in cases where students are already home to watch the ITV,
   (a) there are no educators around to guide them through the content of the programme/lesson;
   (b) there are no feedback sessions that could be readily organised in a regular classroom use of the programme or in the type of situation provided for in the experimental models designed and used by this writer;
   (c) most of the ITV lessons need to be graded. Even where they are graded, there is no way of controlling the observers to avoid confusion/frustration, e.g., where a sixth grade student sits to observe a lesson designed for a ninth grade student.

6. The curriculum does not make any provision for the inclusion of Instructional Television Programmes during school hours and neither is the curriculum open-ended enough to allow for the use of audiovisual mass media techniques in education in any of the school systems.

7. The currently stringent financial situation in the educational systems does not leave any room for the possibilities of purchasing all the hardware needed for the successful implementation of AVM education either locally or nationally. Moreover, the fact that the system is still underdeveloped and unable to produce its own hardware, e.g., providing inexpensive televisions, video cassettes, video cassette players for all to purchase, makes the possibilities of adapting the use of AVM on a short-term basis unrealistic. Since we now depend on importation of such goods, the possi-

bilities of importing them in this period of economic depression is neither feasible nor realistic. No provision is made for preparing teachers in the use of AVM in our schools. The impact of the functions of NETC is neither felt nationally nor locally in any way.

8. Although research evidence before us shows that AVM will solve some of the teaching/learning problems of various subjects across the curriculum in our educational system, the financial constraints cannot allow this dream to materialise as urgently as one might have wished.

9. The language use of most of the programmes on the television is appalling and one would be doing more harm than good to students if they are encouraged to patronise watching most of these programmes. In addition to the poor language use on the television programmes, some of the drama shows either have no specific themes, or they are confusing and/or vulgar. Very often, the humour is very dry and most uninspiring to say the least. Consequently, one can say quite categorically that the students are not missing much as long as efforts are not made to ensure that creative, educative, and inspiring Audiovisual Mass Media Programmes are designed to help improve the lot of our students.

The curious zero situation with the use of AVM Education in Nigeria encouraged this writer to find out if there is any hope or readiness for adopting this teaching/learning technique in Nigeria. According to Odunusi (1986: 171-177), the concept of learning readiness is not new, what is relatively new is the study of its relationship to the meaning of readiness vis-a-vis English Language teaching/learning through the creative medium of AVM Education.

AVM, if adapted for use, have the singular opportunity of reaching the masses. Moreover, once the programmes are designed and implemented by experts, they will produce life-long creative learning in all and sundry on a national basis and this can then be extended for international consumption, for peace, and for understanding among peoples of the world in the 21st century and beyond.

A CASE STUDY

Audiovisual mass media education: case studies in Nigeria

Odusina's study titled ***Designing and implementing models for teaching/learning English Language through audiovisual mass media education at tertiary levels in Nigeria*** started first by identifying (through the assistance of educators, their reports, students' essays, and Pre-tests) areas of English language difficulties among students popularly referred to as "Freshmen". Ninety (90) students were identified and used as subjects for the study. These subjects were divided into four groups - A, B, C, and D in the ratio of 15, 15, 15, and 45. It was felt that a maximum of 15 students would be ideal as subjects in a micro-teaching simulation-game under CCTV (Closed Cicuit Television) situations.

Students in group A were taught using prepackaged English Language model lessons on video cassette tapes meant to help the students improve on their identified areas of language deficiences. All the lessons were full of activities and demonstrations, and left room for teacher/student interaction.

There were various opportunities for students to express themselves : orally, in writing, by demonstrating, by creating sentences and stanzas of poems, constructing word puzzle boards and charts, referring to previous knowledge/experiences, inspecting articles, relating their experiences to the content of the lessons, and feeling very free to use all their five senses where appropriate. Every student was actively involved in every single lesson and there was room for feedback sessions.

Two sessions were held on a weekly basis for two semesters with the students in CCTV environment. The researchers were around to observe, facilitate learning, answer questions, offer explanations, and ensure that the students were using the creative learning opportunities provided in the lessons. Tests were administered on the students at the end of each "skills area" completed. Students were also encouraged to use the video tapes privately on their own in the current CCTV rooms after the formal individualised practice sessions when the researchers were not around.

These students were issued identity cards with which they were allowed entry to the CCTV rooms for exclusive use of the video cassette tapes. In addition log books were opened for keeping records of students' persistent use of the various video cassette tapes throughout the period of the study.

Group B was comprised of students who used the models under the individualised programmed approach system for teaching/learning English Language. These students were instructed to approach the researchers whenever they had any pertinent questions to ask.

Group C was given a list of prescribed textbooks on English grammar, vocabulary, structures, writing exercises, etc., to study and use on their own to improve on their language problem areas. These students were asked to report to and/or consult with the researchers any time they felt they had mastered any of the identified skill areas. These students were also given continuous assessment tests on each of the skill areas reportedly mastered. For control purposes, the books were made available in a special "Reading Room" with log books under monitoring officers who kept records of students' visits, books used, and number of times and duration of visits.

Group D was left to continue their English learning by merely attending their regular General English/Use of English classes that all the other students in groups A, B, and C were also attending in connection with their various disciplines, e.g., engineering groups, food technology groups, science groups, business administration, etc.

At the end of the study all ninety pupils were given tests. The result showed that students in group A performed slightly better than those in group B. Students in groups A and B performed much better than those in groups C and D. The performance of students in group D was only slightly better than their performance at entry point.

The result of this study on the whole showed that an individualised audiovisual mass media programme for teaching/learning the English language will solve many problems such as those earlier discussed in this paper, if it is included in our curriculum, properly planned by experts, and implemented on an individualised basis as well as on a group/national basis.

Another study was conducted by this writer in order to find out what educators (teachers) and students feel about the adoption of individualised audiovisual mass media programmes for teaching/learning English language in our institutions *either as supplementary* efforts to teacher's teaching offered through the regular lectures *or as the only opportunity* provided for students to learn general English/use of English. Opinionnaires were designed and administered both educators and students independently as follows:

A. *Teachers/Lecturers (Educators)*
The sample for the study was drawn from members of different English Language teaching related tertiary institutions and associations in Nigeria. They were chosen because they have considerable experience as well as understanding of students' problems in the learning of English and the situa-

tions in their various institutions vis-a-vis the facilities available, the quality and the staff strength, and the lecturer/student ratio. Professionally, these educators are from Teachers' College, Faculties of Arts, Departments of General Studies, Inspectors of English from the Ministries, and some members of Nigerian English Studies Association (NESA). Obviously, this group of subjects is uniquely qualified to perceive desirability/readiness or otherwise of using the audiovisual mass media approach to teach/learn English Language in Nigeria. One hundred and ten (110) educators formed this part of the subjects for the study.

B. *Students*

Students who formed the subjects for this study include the 90 students who took part in the initial study briefly reported above, and other students who also registered for the General English/Use of English Course at the institutions from which the educators were drawn. Ten students were drawn from each of the twelve institutions of higher learning. This was done to make it easy to manage the number of those who would review the video cassettes. Two hundred and ten students (210) took part in the study.

All the subjects, both the educators and students, were given the opportunity to review at least two of the AVM lessons and ask the researchers as many pertinent questions as possible before the researchers handed over the "opinionnaires" to them. The opinionnaires were then collected back almost immediately, i.e., on the same day, and analysed on a percentile basis.

Findings:

Educators and students:

Majority of the educators and students feel:

1. That "Audiovisual Mass Media Education for Nigerians" (AMEN) is creative.

2. That AMEN can be used either on an individualised basis or by groups of learners.

3. That AMEN is an expensive venture and is therefore only suitable and meant for the affluent members of the society.

4. That specific policies (both on short-term and long-term basis) should be made in favour of adapting AMEN at all levels.

5. That if all the equipment could be made available and inexpensive for all and sundry to purchase then all citizens will stand to benefit from AMEN.

6. That AMEN should/could be used to teach all aspects of English language.

7. That AMEN should be made available for all interested learners in all subjects across the curriculum at all levels, and for both old and young learners and for literate and illiterate learners.

Educators:

Majority of the educators feel:

That ownership of material required for running AMEN, e.g., films, cassette tapes, and players, should be prescribed and made mandatory for students at tertiary levels to buy, just as ownership of required course textbooks are made mandatory.

Students:

Majority of the students feel:

1. That all educators should be dismissed and replaced with learning facilities designed for the adoption of AMEN (63%).

2. That AMEN should be used to supplement Educators' Teaching (58%).

3. That AMEN should be used as substitutes for educators when all examinations have been abolished (83%).

4. That AMEN should be adopted right away alongside with educators whether examinations are retained or abolished (68%).

Based on the findings in the above study, the following recommendations were offered (Odusina 1988e and 1988f):

1. *Short-term Solution*: Make Audiovisual Mass Media Facilities such as television monitors, video cassettes, video cas-

sette players, etc., as well as competent technicians, readily available in all our institutions to supplement teaching/learning efforts put in by the educators.

2. *Long-term solution*: Encourage local production of necessary facilities at minimal commercial costs as well as making the facilities compact, durable, inexpensive, and available in large quantities for all and sundry to purchase throughout the country and utilise for the effective implementation of the laudable 6-3-3-4 system in all subjects across the curriculum in Nigeria.

From the findings in these studies it is apparent that the Federal and State government should generate policies regulating the position that English Language should take in our institutions. Specifically these policies could be as follows:

1. Make both short-term as well as long-term policies that will promote the adoption of AVM in our educational systems.
2. Make sufficient funds available for manufacturing all facilities at a reasonable commercial basis.
3. Flood the markets with copious, compact and durable but cheap facilities needed for the promotion of AVM among all and sundry for local and export consumption.
4. Fund and encourage the review and development of curricula at all educational levels so as to advance the implementation of AVM.
5. Embark upon the possibility of training teachers in the production of AVM materials and in the use of AVM in our educational systems.
6. It is hoped that once short-term efforts are made to adopt AMEN on closed circuit basis in our institutions, long-term efforts could be geared towards becoming a reality on a national basis in the next century.

Conclusions and recommendations

In conclusion, one will not be exaggerating by saying that Audiovisual Mass Media Education in creative curriculum development in Nigeria is at its lowest ebb.

However, there are conscious efforts mounting up to improve upon the situation. For example, the recent two week celebration of the "Nigerian Festival of Television Programmes" (NIFETEP) which started on Sunday the 23rd of October, 1988 and was titled "Social Mobilisation for National Development through Television", was given a very impressive and effective national coverage. Many of the national/official statements made during the celebrations pointed out that the production of good television and film will require hard work, resourcefulness, cooperation, prayerfulness, and financial support. Importation of foreign programmes was seen as pollution of our culture. It was resolved that bold attempts will be made to reorient the society through television. Some of the techniques to be used are information, enlightenment, education, and entertainment.

Throughout the period of the celebration of NIFETEP, television stations throughout the nation aired a series of programmes which were educational, highly creative, and full of cultural content. A survey of opinions of 210 subjects who viewed the programmes consistently (parents, educators, students, government officials) showed that the subjects were not only surprised that such educative/quality programmes could come from Nigerians but also wished that such programmes could be intensified and produced on a regular basis in place of most of the current programmes that are either foreign to our culture, or uninspiring, dry, and uneducative. Moreover, the inclusion of AVM in our school curiculum and Teacher Training Programmes coupled with training of competent technicians and availability of AVM facilities in all our institutions and homes will encourage the spread of the creativity already demonstrated during the period of NIFETEP celebration.

As to the what and how of it, one can briefly say that Teacher Training Programmes should be adequately designed to equip teachers at all levels of the educational system in basic television production techniques. The current teacher education curriculum which only makes provision for learning how to prepare basic teaching materials should be expanded to give teachers practical experiences in basic television production techniques, i.e., scripting, knowledge of technical terms and signs to be used, knowing about equipment and production facilities, and a good command of communicative skills.

The creative techniques required at various stages should also form part of the training. One should add here that we cannot overlook the "ins" of education - insight and intuition, initiative, and ingenuity. Education is a real social problem. We are not trying to propose the training of automatons who will vote the way we want them to vote - we are trying to achieve social ends. If one is to understand the modern world and play a full part in it, one must have a more thorough grounding in science than ever before.

The evolution of techniques makes it so that basic knowledge must continually be brought up-to-date and supplemented by means of lifelong creative education. In order to meet this growing need, it would seem logical, in a world where technology is omnipresent, to have recourse to the most modern educational technologies. Particularly important are television and film production techniques which provide us with the highest percentile opportunities of learning maximally through our two senses of hearing and sight. The making of a remarkable impact on our societies requires getting teachers fully equipped. As the Nigerian National Policy on Education rightly says, "No society can rise beyond the quality of its teachers."

We reiterate: education may be "in-school" or "post-school", and television may be closed circuit or "open circuit". For example, internal television may be used for a class, for a whole school, or for social establishments linked by wire relay, i.e., closed circuit. Alternatively, omnidirectional television may be used. The messages are broadcast by waves over a whole region or an entire country. This is "open circuit" which this writer advocates for use nationally in Nigeria and later on could be extended for international usage. Programmes designed for schools and teacher training colleges should feature during the school hours and these should be creative, educative, and made functionally viewed by students and teachers in schools.

Closed circuit television is a superlative tool by means of which the teacher, or a team of teachers, assisted by technical staff, can "work up" the image, so as to make it more impressive and creative, thus leaving lasting impressions on the learners.

Students will be given the opportunity to participate actively in all the teaching/learning experiences. They will create their own images, poems, stories, cartoons, and drawings, and film their own plays, and dismantle and reassemble televisions, radios, etc.

There is no limit to the creative teaching/learning activities that can be demonstrated to people over the television. If this is started under a closed circuit television situation (on a short-term basis) it could be expanded later to become a national/international affair when film and television facilities are available in all schools and homes. Audiovisual Mass Media Education should be encouraged in the Teacher Training Institutions and this can later be extended for use in schools and homes. While it is very true that the teacher is still conservative and is very strongly attached to the educational models she/he her/-himself knows as a student, once the teacher is trained or given further training with aid of television, she/he will no longer refuse her/his students that which has proved instructive for her/himself.

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TOWARDS COMPASSION AND JUSTICE: AUDIOVISUAL MASS MEDIA AND THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE

by

Toh Swee-Hin

Introduction

The audio-visual images of South societies which enter the consciousness of ordinary citizens in the advanced industrialized or North regions of the world, are principally those of unmitigated suffering and wretchedness. From famines to typhoons, from floods to drought, and from violent coups to border wars - - no matter the context, the poor majorities of the Third World are viewed at a distance as helpless "pawns" in a global game of "fate". Perhaps pity is aroused, as when another famine breaks out in Ethiopia or Bangladesh is inundated by its worst floods in living memory. Or heads may shake when scenes of war and carnage, of political crises and conflicts are beamed back almost instantaneously, reinforcing a belief that South peoples are politically "immature" and "incapable" of building "civilized, democratic" societies. And when some Hollywood or other commercialized film producers find the South a convenient location, the stereotypes and caricatures of "orientals" and other non-Caucasians often abound, as in the "Indiana Jones", "Jewel of the Nile" and "Rambo" genre.

For media educators the principal issue here is whether these emphases in presentation facilitate critical thinking and understanding of learners about Third World peoples, societies, and affairs. Invariably the answer is a clear "no". True, disasters in South countries often happen with much destruction and suffering. However why cannot the daily lives of human beings worldwide, in all their diversities and complexities, be seen as worthwhile knowledge *per se* outside the context of disasters and death? It is also a grim reality of today's world that South regions have a disproportionate share of poverty, hunger, and other deprivations of basic needs. But if media is to authentically educate in terms of fostering critical consciousness, then it must go beyond mere reporting of symptoms to illuminate the causes of those problems and crises.

Here, it bears noting that such media conduct reflecting superficiality, sensationalism and lack of contextual understanding, as elaborated below, is consistent with its role in North societies as well. As various analysts and theorists have shown, news and information disseminated by established media tend to reinforce "myths" and conceptual boundaries which can help legitimize ruling ideologies and systems, and/or conform with (thereby capitalizing upon) the average public consciousness about human/societal affairs, including popular fears/security needs, ethnic prejudices, political conservatism, and maintenance of the status quo (Glasgow University Media Group, 1976,1980; Edgar, 1980; Beharrell & Philo, 1977; Cohen & Young, 1973; Gurevitch, 1977; Windschuttle, 1984: 261 ff.). Applying such reasoning to the Third World, it is perhaps not surprising that much news/information perpetuate stereotypes and prejudices, given the racist roots of the colonial era, or portrays North nations and cultures as inherently "superior" to poor, "helpless", and "hopeless" South regions, thereby reinforcing perceptions of current global political-economic hierarchies. In sum, if the audio-visual mass media is to play a constructive role in deepening understanding of the realities of life in South societies, it is important for critical educator to first help learners demystify mainstream images and themes.

Secondly, through creative exposure to an emergent body of alternative audiovisual productions, learners can begin to develop a more critical understanding of the root causes of the crises of underdevelopment, poverty and hunger in two-thirds of humanity. This is where media education has the potential to play a very constructive role in the emergent field of peace education. Although the international community of peace educators encompasses a range of problem interests (e.g. militarism and disarmament, human rights, development/world studies, cultural solidarity, personal peace), they generally share a common goal, viz the promotion of critical understanding of the root causes of conflicts and violence from personal to global levels, and cultivation of values of personal/social action to build more peaceful, just, compassionate and equitable selves, societies and world (Reardon, 1987; Carson & Gideonse, 1987; Toh & Floresca-Cawagas, 1987; Hicks, 1988).

Undoubtedly, the existence of mass poverty, hunger, gaps between rich and poor nations (North-South divide) and concomitant conflicts/violence is one major obstacle to planetary peace, and accordingly, it is vital for learners to appreciate "why" underdevelopment occurs and "how" people can develop with justice, equity, and self-reliance. This task can be facilitated by using audiovisual resources, for as peace educators also stress, teaching and learning about peace requires creative pedagogies which can transform values and inspire action (Coover, 1977; Floresca-Cawagas & Hepworth, 1987; Masheder, 1986; Toh, Floresca-Cawagas & Fagela, 1989), rather than "banking" styles (e.g., excessive reliance on printed text or lecturing) which stresses the cognitive, assumes "value neutrality" and fails to conscientize (Freire, 1972, 1985). Relevant audio-visuals allow learners to vicariously and affectively experience Third World realities which, to begin with, are already often so divorced from the everyday lives of North citizens.

In essence, this article has a twofold mission. First, it will discuss those aspects of the prevailing dominant audiovisual massmedia that contribute to the North/South divide, and stand in the way of greater justice and compassion in the world. Here, the discussion begins by clarifying the predominant biases and assumptions in media reporting of the Third World, before analyzing alternative paradigms of underdevelopment/development which provide a conceptual yardstick for critical use of audiovisuals pertaining to South societies and affairs. Secondly, examplars of audio-visual resources which can help promote a peace-oriented consciousness towards problems of Third World poverty, hunger and underdevelopment will be provided.

Reporting the Third World: Biases and Assumptions

Scholars and analysts of communication have over the past two decades found considerable evidence of various biases and assumptions in how Third World affairs, events and societies are reported in the dominant mass-media in North countries, especially those of the West. Although more research has been undertaken on the print media, notably newpapers, than audio-visual forms, the generalizations appear to be applicable across different media forms because of the operation of similar underlying principles of news gathering, selection and marketing by the media corporations.

To begin with, as Lent (1977) has usefully summarized, international news coverage and usage are "often determined by considerations of international diplomacy, national government and military policies, and historical-cultural heritage". For example, reports of Third World conflicts often reflect the political, strategic and/or economic interests of the dominant and powerful states, while proportionately South affairs receive much less attention than North regions. There is also an undue emphasis on violent conflicts and /or disastrous events when the Third World is reported, reflecting an implicit or explicit unquestioned assumption of the "ungovernability" and crises-prone attributes of Third World peoples. To add to such biases, Third World governments can also impose censorship and image-building expectations on how their countries might be reported. As a result, North citizens fail to see many aspects of how South societies really work, and hence the roots of many of the problems and crises (e.g. hunger, poverty, political conflict) whose symptoms are endlessly transmitted through the mass-media, of which audio-visual forms are so much a part of everyday life of advanced industrialized cultures.

Looking at international information in Swedish newspapers, Hedman (1981) has concluded that most articles are

> "event-oriented and give no general background information to enable the reader to put the information into perspective. The articles often lack even the simplest form of explanation of why some events occur".

Lacking contextual information, the various events reported, of which disasters and violent conflicts predominate, fail therefore in facilitating understanding of the social, political and economic *structures* underlying world poverty and other crises. As argued later, even when some form of background information or explanations are provided, the data are often never "neutral" with respect to the the causes of and possible solutions to the problems.

The important report of the UNESCO-sponsored International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems similarly notes this deficiency of prevailing reporting of Third World news in emphasizing "events" (e.g. floods) over "process" (e.g. efforts to control floods). The "widely held concept of news values for its excessive stress on the departure from the normal and lack of attention to positive news...may inflict on readers and listeners an endless hail of conflicts, catastrophes, crime, natural and man-made disasters, violence, political upheavals, social unrest and economic disorders" (McBride, 1977: 157). While aware of organizational and environmental difficulties in news gathering and distribution (e.g. official censorship, newspaper space, broadcasting time, ethnocentrism of communication professionals), the Commission rightly notes that "a heightened sense of journalistic responsibility" can present more accurate and fuller views of the world to the reading or listening public.

Other pieces of more geographically specific research in communication have also provided supportive, albeit more complex evidence, for such kinds of criticisms. Thus Weaver and Wilhoit(1981), as part of another UNESCO-sponsored study, found that two major U.S. wire services (Associated Press, United Press International) did not necessarily disproportionately ignore Third World news, which were in fact more and often even longer in size than the advanced industrialized world. However, stories from the Third World are significantly more likely to be about "diplomatic/political activity between states, internal conflict or crisis, armed conflict or the threat of it, military aid, and political crime". In contrast, stories from the affluent world are more likely to be about non-political crime, religion and human interest or odd happenings, although political, military and criminal activities still predominant the news channels or columns. Semmel's (1976) study of foreign news in four U.S. dailies adds the further point that the selection process by news editors results in disproportionate attention to countries which are "economically affluent, politically powerful and culturally similar to the United States", and neglect of the economic and political peripheries of the global system. Peterson's (1980) more extensive research comparing the Third World coverage of the giant transnational agencies (UPI, AP, AFP, Reuter) and of the Times of London, which receives these agencies' reports, again confirms the more conflictual/crisis stress given to Third World news - in other words, the "negative news" syndrome noted earlier. And Aronson (1970) has made a persuasive indictment of the U.S. press' voluntary role in overriding principles of responsible journalism to help successive U.S. governments convince the public of the "rightness" of Cold War foreign policies.

In the Australian and Canadian contexts, much the same picture emerges. Tiffen (1976), for example, found that Australian press coverage of Third World news lacked contextual and background information so necessary if Australians, who so often are ignorant of non-Western countries, are to increase their understanding of those societies. Furthermore, the concentration of stories on metropolitan centres means little coverage of the rural poor, except when disruptive events occur. Another study of Australian newspapers by Grundy (1980) found that the picture which Australians

> "get of the world seems to be directed by Australia's Anglo-Saxon cultural associations, and influenced by the highly developed news dissemination networks in the US and the UK....(Even) a hurricane which in September 1979 caused enormous los of life in the Carribean did not become a story of any significance whatsoever until it began to threaten the coast of the United States. The coverage it then received was vast."

Overton (1982) analyzed African television news flow into Australia and confirmed the propensity of "bad news" with hardly any "good news" or process information (e.g., development), and an overall neglect of much of Africa. It should be noted though that the state-owned Australian Broadcasting Corporation does have, as illustrated later, some radio and television documentaries and current affairs programs which provide much more background and analytical information. In Canada's case, Schroeder (1978) drew three conclusions from his survey of Canadian newspapers, namely that Third World affairs ranked low priority with most editors, rationalized in terms of low reader interest; a few currently "hot" news items, with lack of depth or breadth of coverage, are stressed; and little Canadian or Third World perpectives appear in the news presented.

Given the above biases and assumptions of reporting about the Third World, it is not surprising that over the past two decades efforts have been made by South governments, concerned professionals and international organizations like UNESCO and the movement of non-aligned nations to establish a "new world information order" (Schiller, 1978; Peterson, 1980: 69ff, *New Internationalist*, 1981). This would help reverse the centre-periphery or dependency framework of prevailing international communication flows, and enable more "positive" Third World news, especially news based on local definitions/perspectives, to reach industrialized countries. In this regard, the existence of at least one major alternative press agency for Third World News, viz the Inter-press Service, has helped somewhat to provide more background, contextual and process-oriented news (Giffard, 1984). While the underlying principles of a new international information order deserve support as crucial elements in building a more just and equitable world, care nevertheless is needed to ensure that it is not coopted by current Third World governments and elite groups to "rationalize" prevalent unequal and repressive social, political and economic systems.

Finally, it is relevant to mention the biases, strereotypes and distortions which can occur in cinematic films that are set in Third World contexts. Here, one only has to recall the dehumanized depiction of Vietnamese people in *Rambo* or of Africans in *The Wild Geese* or of Arabs in *The Jewel of the Nile*, or as Robinson (1984) has analyzed, the racism and sexism, as well as the imagery of primitive violence, irrationality, hopelessness and "savagery" endemic in the *Indiana Jones* series. For children, even cartoons like the Donald Duck variety can promote what Dorfman and Mattelart(1975) call "cultural imperialism". Such films transmit subtle or explicit values and attitudes which do nothing to enhance human togetherness and the mutual respect vital for building a more peaceful world. This is not to say, of course, that there are no exceptions, and recent movies like *Gandhi*, *Cry Freedom*, *Salvador* and *The Last Emperor* show the possibilities for more contextual and/or politically literate movies.

The above summarized research and analyses provide therefore some useful principles and guidelines for educators when using audio-visual mass media as a tool or vehicle for teaching and learning about Third World societies. Certainly, learners should develop a capacity to detect the prevalent biases and assumptions transmitted through news and films. However, it will not suffice to merely be aware of biases, and both teachers and learners require a conceptual framework whereby Third World affairs can be critically interpreted and analyzed. For example, "natural disasters" which feature as immediate crises in news reports, often embody underlying root causes/consequences of a political, economic and social nature. As discussed in the next section of this article, such a critical framework can be derived from a comparison of the two major social science paradigms available for understanding why Third World underdevelopment exists, and actual or possible strategies for promoting "development". It will be argued that a basic knowledge of these paradigms, refered to as "modernization" and by the acronym "PEACE", will be essential for creative use of audio-visual media in fostering values of justice and compassion which can bridge the North-South divide.

Paradigms of Underdevelopment

As nation-states of the South proliferated in the post-war era, their governments, those of the advanced industrialized world and various international agencies or organizations began in earnest to design, implement or encourage "development" plans and policies. The assumptions, concepts and theories on which these plans were, and essentially are still based comprise what may be termed the "modernization" paradigm to development (Hoogvelt, 1976: Chap.3; Little, 1982; Thompson, 1976). Centrally, implicitly or explicitly, to "develop" means to become eventually like advanced industrialized hi-tech and mass-consuming societies. The lack of development is attributed to certain deficiencies in internal attributes of Third World states, whether cultural (e.g. traditionalist values), social (e.g. illiteracy, ascriptive norms), economic (e.g. un-modernized susbsistence agriculture, lack of capital, technology, infrastructure, entrepreneurs and other inputs), and political (e.g. no liberal democratic traditions or institutions). To modernize, therefore, the Third World needs to absorb new values, norms, institutions and structures, so that agriculture and industry becomes technologized and commercialized for global trading systems, an entrepreneurial ethic spreads through an increasingly literate populace, and western political systems are established.

In this process of modernization, the free-enterprise North states, including the former colonial powers, play inherently beneficial roles. By trade, foreign aid, technology / expertise-transfers and capital investment, the North helps the South make up for the various deficiencies. And so, from the fifties on, most parts of the Third World became well integrated into a world political-economic system dominated by the advanced industrialized powers. The Green Revolution based on high-yielding seeds; the ubiquitious dominance of transnational corporations; the burgeoning debt encouraged by aid agencies and corporations alike; the growth of export-oriented industry and agribusiness; a spreading homogenization of "culture" via western-dominated communication systems; untrammelled exploitation of natural resources and environment to earn foreign exchange and to supply the advanced industrial consumption; the emulation of westernized formal education systems; a growing contingent of aid experts busily dispensing advice on modernization plans and strategies; alliances with and diplomatic/military support of Third World leaders, often increasingly repressive and corrupt, but amenable to modernization policies and to continuing economic and political dependency on the richer nations -- all these reflect different facets of the modernization paradigm and provide in part the background information which mass-media, including audio-visual forms, invariably do not explicitly or even implicitly provide to viewers confronted by the immediate crises. Modernization policies, programs and projects may have helped a few countries attain "newly industrializing" status, and benefitted a limited number of poor individuals, but could not be generalized to whole populations and the entire South. It is also important to stress that the "state socialist" powers, in their relationships with the Third World, are often no less modernization-oriented and expecting of various forms of dependency from their allies.

In contrast to modernization perspectives, there is by now a alternative multi-faceted paradigm of understanding Third World underdevelopment and poverty . Referred to here as the "PEACE" paradigm, this alternative conception not only challenges modernization analysts about their explanations of the causes of South problems, but also sees the very processes of modernization as reinforcing or generating those crises in their prevailing manifestations (George, 1976; Trainer, 1985; Alavi & Shanin, 1983; DEP, 1986). Thus by and large, in most South states, modernization policies have neglected meeting the basic needs of the poor majorities, resulting instead in the disproportionate enrichment of the elite minorities. The latter, well connected politically and supported by repressive state apparatuses, are able to use or coopt the exploitation of their country's natural resources (e.g., land, forests, seas, agricultural cash-crops, minerals) and human resources (e.g. poor peasants and workers) to sustain ostentatious lifestyles, regardless of the suffering and wretched deprivation of their fellow citizens, and the increasingly noticeable environmental destruction. At the same time, the rich nations also benefit, from the ready supply of their primary resource and other consumption needs, from the lucrative profits of their transnational corporations and foreign investments, and from international trading and monetary systems under their control and manipulation. Where structural inequalities and exploitation have given birth to political challenges from the masses, it is not unusual to find South elites collaborating with their North allies to repress dissent, thereby aggravating the militarization and civil/political violence which serve the audio-visual mass media so well in providing "hot" crisis-type information and reinforcing the earlier mentioned stereotypes and biases (e.g., cultural dispositions to violence, political immaturity, "communist" threats).

In counter-position to modernization thinking, the alternative paradigm therefore stresses the central role of power in determining why mass deprivation and suffering is entrenched in so much of the Third World. Structurally violent systems deny the poor majorities their rightful share of the fruits of their sweat and their country's resources. For example, the much "celebrated" Green Revolution, the technocratic remedy to overcome world hunger, may have produced "more" food but in unequal systems, often generated more inequalities and problems for the poor (e.g., landlessness, indebtedness, environmental degradation). Political, economic and increasingly cultural dependency of South states on the advanced industrialized North, makes it difficult for indigeneous definitions and solutions to the problems of meeting the basic needs of all citizens. In the view of "PEACE" paradigm analysts therefore, as suggested by the acronym (Toh, 1986, 1988), there is firstly an urgent need for development plans based on *participation*, which imply devolution of political power to the poor majorities, currently lacking in both free-enterprise as well as centralized state-socialist systems. Secondly, *equity* must be enshrined with the necessary efforts at economic growth, so that resources, products and income are equitably distributed. Then technology and values incorporated into the development strategies must be *appropriate* to local social and cultural contexts. Fourth, all participants in development need opportunities for *conscientization*, so that they fully understand the structural and other realities of their situation and are moved to act politically to transform those realities to build a better society for all citizens. Last, but not least, alternatives to modernization must pay careful attention to *environmental* care, so that development can be longterm and sustainable, rather than wreck the very environment upon which mass livelihoods vitally depend as modernization has done and is still doing.

To illustrate how the above conceptual framework of modernization versus "PEACE" paradigms can be applied to the presentations of mainstream audio-visual media, the multiple cases of "natural disasters" and of "political violence" can be analyzed. When people in North societies receive information on some Third World natural disaster, they are usually left with images of physical destruction and unmitigated human suffering. There is usually little other data which can, for instance, point out that a weather-induced famine has in fact often many political, economic and social antecedents and causes which collectively and over time drove the environment and social system to crisis point (Timberlake, 1985). Some of those antecedents, as occurred periodically in Africa and countries like Bangladesh, involve the structural violence, inappropriate technologies and economic modernization critically analyzed by the "PEACE" paradigm. Furthermore, audio-visual media portrayal of South disasters reinforce North values and attitudes towards South peoples as "hopeless, wretched human beings" who therefore need charity for their survival. Of course, when famines and disaster-caused human suffering occurs, relief aid is morally obligatory on humanitarian grounds. However, what a "PEACE" paradigm approach to mass media presentations of disasters would recommend is that, while relief aid is necessary, North citizens should fully understand that "natural disasters" are often inextricably bound up with human decisions. In so many instances, these decisions and policies by South elite minorities are abetted by North interests and agencies (e.g., excessive cashcropping of fragile African environments; denial of available food to hungry Bangladeshis unable to buy that food). Thus a "PEACE" paradigm approach to such Third World disasters can help to awaken critical awareness among North peoples of their possible role in maintaining global structural violence.

In the case of political violence, again a favourite topic in audio-visual and other mass media, the modernization perspective largely fails to point out that political dissent/conflict is not simplistically an internal problem of "ungovernability" and "violence-prone cultures". Often, conflicts within South societies have linkages to one or more opposing sides in the global ideological "East-West" divide, therefore raising once more the need for North viewers to be able to interpret how perhaps their own government and other national agencies or interests may be indirectly or even directly involved in those conflicts. Thus, for instance, the current internal conflicts and violence in the Philippines cannot really be understood without reference to the covert and overt role played by a superpower, in this case the United States, in helping to fuel that conflict (e.g. support for counter-insurgency, presence of military bases) and add obstacles to possibilities for active non-violent resolution of the problems of mass poverty and injustices within Filipino society. In this regard, the modernization paradigm would not be able to help viewers appreciate such linkages as well as those internal social/economic factors (e.g., inequalities sustained by modernized agriculture and industry; unwillingness to enact radical land reforms) that have sparked the insurgency problem. In contrast, the PEACE paradigm would provide concepts and analysis to help North viewers demystify the immediate events of political violence and conflict.

Awakening Compassion and Justice

Beyond the essential task of helping their learners to demystify mainstream audio-visual media presentations of South problems, critical educators will also need to provide alternative portrayals which can awaken compassion and justice. Fortunately, there is now a growing body of audiovisual resources whose assumptions, information and analysis are drawn from or consistent with the "PEACE" paradigm. Used creatively, such alternative resources can do much to alert learners to the root causes of world poverty and inequalities and to engage action for global transformation. In this article, space permits elaboration of only a small sample of PEACE-oriented audiovisuals relating particularly to the issues of "structural violence" and "women and development". However, a more extensive listing of audiovisuals in other dimensions of underdevelopment/development is given in an Appendix. It is also inevitable, given their production dates, that the audiovisuals discussed or listed may not reflect up-to-date circumstances pertaining to an issue, problem, or society. This need not imply obsolescence, provided teachers are aware of post-production developments, and since the structural relationships are often still prevalent and previously "current" events become today's "history" which aids critical understanding of any problem.

Structural Violence- Internal & External: One film which provides very useful contextual information and opportunities for critical analysis about the poverty and inequalities due to structural violence is the BBC production *To Sing Our Own Song*. Narrated by the late Senator Jose Diokno, one of the Philippines' most famous and courageous human rights activists over the past two decades. The film reveals the roots of mass poverty (e.g., income/wealth inequalities, elite corruption, economic domination by transnational corporations), analyzes the growth of mass dissent, including an insurgency movement, and concomitant political repression and human rights abuses under the Marcos dictatorship, and exposes the interventionist presence of the United States via the bases, military aid and cultural exploitation. In the post-Marcos era, despite the limited democratization led by the Aquino government, the issues and analysis covered in this film are no less relevant and useful as political trends deteriorate and promised reforms for justice and equity remain largely unfulfilled. Another British film called *Brazil: Children of the Miracle*, although more narrowly focused, looks at the lives of Brazilian children and poor families under the so-called "Brazilian miracle" of the seventies. It raises insightful questions about the disparities between elite minorities and the Brazilian masses, and show how unbridled economic growth does not mean the fulfilment of basic needs of all citizens. Instead the rich, including external economic interests, get richer while the poor get poorer. Likewise, although Brazil has of late seen some political 'liberalization' with the return of civilian governments, the economy of injustices and repression demonstrated in Dimbleby's film remain salient. Both films, while documenting the realities of structural violence in the Philippines and Brazil, are capable of exerting a powerful impact upon viewers through evoking empathy for the oppressed and marginalized. At the same time, elites (e.g., Marcos and the governor of Sao Paulo) are given opportunities to declare views on their respective societies.

The foreign and international/global dimensions of structural violence have also been well treated in a range of audiovisual resources. For example, the well-known U.S.-made film *Controlling Interest*, documents and analyzes the powerful role of transnational corporations worldwide and especially in the Third World. It makes insightful linkages between such problems as relocation of U.S. corporations from traditional bases in America towards Third World sites, the Allende overthrow in Chile where nationalization of copper transnationals prompted Western retaliation, the so-called "Brazilian miracle" (as analyzed in the Dimbleby film), and U.S. foreign policies towards the Third World. Very illuminating interviews with corporate leaders are also provided on their understanding of the role of international capital, thus providing opportunities for learners for critical analysis in the light of the actual consequences of transnational activities.

Then, there is also *Bottle Babies*, an interesting albeit tragic case study of how unethical marketing of powdered milk among poor peoples in many South regions has led to unnecessary infant deaths and injury. A Dutch film called *Obligations* has explained the debt problem which now entraps so many countries, and asks serious questions about the political and economic responsibility of the international banks and the IMF. *Aiding or Abetting*, a documentary produced by the Australian Braodcasting Commission's current affairs program, 'Four Corners', show how Australian aid to the Philippines can be coopted by elites for their economic and political gains, and diverted from meeting the basic needs of poor Filipinos. One graphic scene records a provincial governor unabashedly admitting with obvious pleasure that the Australian aid program has been very useful as a "free ride"!

Women and Development: Increasingly too, the greater negative impact of underdevelopment and modernization suffered by women, compared to men, under patriarchial sociocultural systems has received attention in alternative audiovisual mass media. One program in the British "World Studies" series, *Half of the World's People*, explained how women have been underrewarded, exploited, and discriminated against in work, including basic agricultural production, in social services like education and health, and in political decisionmaking. Internal root causes of the oppression faced by women, in addition to general structural violence in society, include religious biases and male chauvinism. Modernization technologies have also displaced some women's traditonal economic roles, while they are more vulnerable to exploitation in labourintensive industries, often foreign controlled, and the touristfueled prostitution sector. Another British film by the New Internationalist Cooperative, *Man-Made Famine*, links the impact of African famines to the disadvantaged position of women who, therefore, suffer the effects of poverty and hunger most. Although "war", "drought", and "overpopulation" have dominated conventional explanations for African famines, this film clarifies the neglected factor of lack of support for women who serve so prominently in agricultural production. Because women's productive role has been ignored by local/international experts and finance disbursers, African agriculture has become much less efficient than possible, thereby becoming more vulnerable to such factors as bad weather and political instability.

From the point of view of conscience raising, both films also alert viewers to the possibilities for and exemplars of women becoming more politically educated and organized in order to try and claim their equal rights. This point is especially highlighted in the United Nations Development Programme slide-tape kit on *Women and Development: Courses for Action*. The audiovisual shows how a range of programs, projects, and activities can occur and have been occurring in different countries to improve women's status and position (e.g., income-generating schemes, more women's participation in national planning of development, more literacy programs to raise women's awareness of their rights, etc.). Another recent film on women in development called *Bringing It All Back Home* provides insights on the exploitation and politicization of Third World women working in factories or activities controlled by transnational corporations. Using the British context, it also raises learner consciousness about the parallel potential effects of underdevelopment affecting women workers in North societies through the profit maximization ethos of international capital. This film thus demonstrates to citizens in the rich world that they are also subject to relationships of structural violence prevalent in poor regions, an understanding which can help catalyze personal/social action for transformation.

It should not be implied, of course, that the audio-visual resources listed above, as well as others consistent with the "PEACE" paradigm, are uniformly useful and appropriate for critical education. Care is always needed in evaluating each resource for comprehensiveness of treatment of issues, the provision of adequate evidence for conclusions and the like, and appropriate steps taken during the teaching-learning process to account for such factors. In this regard, communication research by Henny (1980) into the varying impact of development-related films, many falling within the PEACE paradigm, has shown that such variables as "ideological or political line", film objective (e.g., information giving, analysis, cause-oriented), and the didactic model (i.e., number of viewpoints discussed, closed--ended or open-ended conclusion) all influence audience response and impact. In one experiment, Henny compared one-sided with two-sided versions of a film on the New Zealand Maoris, and concluded that the former appeared to be more successful in "raising consciousness". However, from the perspective of peace oriented pedagogy, which include a commitment to dialogue and critical thinking, it can be argued that learners will have more self-reliant opportunity to think critically when at least various viewpoints are raised. From my fifteen years of using PEACE oriented audio-visual media, a qualitative, albeit unsystematically evaluated, belief is that audio-visual media seems most effective in awakening critical consciousness when modernization advocates (e.g., Third World elites, transnational corporation executives, advanced industrialized state elites) are allowed to self-express their assumptions, values and policies amidst the documented realities of structural violence, injustices and poverty which may be linked to their paradigm. This juxtaposition of "rhetoric" against "reality", of "theory" against "practice", appears to be a pedagogically useful ingredient in conscientization through audio-visual media. But to agree with Henny (1980: 34), there is obviously need for more systematic evaluation research into the use of audio-visual media resources in teaching and learning about development issues.

Conclusion

In sum, this article has argued for a conceptual framework towards audio-visual mass media on South affairs and problems which draws upon alternative paradigms of understanding why world poverty occurs and strategies for its resolution. In addition to helping learners demystify the biases and distortions prevalent in mainstream portrayals of events in South societies, critical educators need to bring out clearly the tendency of such information to implicitly or explicitly endorse the dominant modernization approach to underdevelopment and development. To accomplish this demystification process, there is now available a broad range of audio-visual media resources based on assumptions and analysis of the alternative PEACE paradigm. Such audio-visuals, when used creatively and appropriately, facilitate the conscientization of learners, stimulating values, attitudes and analysis of compassion and justice which can help bridge the North-South divide.

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Appendix: List of selected audiovisuals for peace-oriented education on North-South issues

The following listed audiovisuals are only a brief selection of the growing stock of recources (English language) now available for creative integration into critical pedagogy/curriculum on North-South issues. They include those already discussed above, and are categorized under various themes, although it should be noted that many audiovisuals often encompass several salient issues or problems and hence may be used across a number of themes.

Structural Violence - Internal and External

Aiding or Abatting [Australian Broadcasting Commission 'Four Corners' documentary, 1984, video]
Bottle Babies [Peter Kreik, West Germany, 1975, 16mm]
Brazil: Children of the Miracle [Jonathan Dimbleby, Thames TV International, United Kingdom, 1979, video]
Controlling Interest: the World of the Multinational Corporation [California Newsreel, USA, 1978, 16mm]
Obligations, Pt. 1: International Banking, the Third World and Chile; Pt. 2: the International Monetary Fund, Britain and Jamaica [Belbo Film Productions, Netherlands, 1980, video]
To Sing our own Song [Anthony Isaacs, BBC Third Eye series, United Kingdom, 1982, video]

Food and Agriculture

Cultivating Famine: the World Food Crisis [World Food Project, Canada, 1975, slide-tape]
Man-Made Famine [New Internationalist Cooperative, United Kingdom, 1986, video]

A Matter of Taste [Belbo Film Productions, Netherlands, 1981, video]
The Other Kenya [Martin Freeth, BBC, United Kingdom, 1980, video]
Roots of Rebellion: Land of Hunger in Central America [USA, 1975, slide-tape]
Shangham: Aid to Liberation [Peter Kreig and Heidi Knott, West Germany, 1978, 16mm]

Environment

Bangladesh: Inundation of a Nation [Australian Broadcasting Commission, Four Corners documentary, 1988, video]
Blowpipes & Bulldozers [Jenni Kendell and Paul Tate, Australia, 1988, 16mm]
Crisis in the Malaysian Environment [Consumers Association of Penang, Malaysia, 1982, 16mm]
The State of the Planet [Martin Freeth, BBC/UNEP, United Kingdom, 1982, video]

Women

Bringing it All Back Home [Gill Booth and Chrissie Stansfield, Sheffield Film Cooperative, 1987, video]
Half of the World's People [Gillian McCredie, World Studies Series, Thames Television, United Kingdom, 1986, video]
Man-Made Famine [New Internationalist Cooperative, United Kingdom, 1986]
Women and Development: Courses for Action [Chris Srinivisan and James Seaton, United Nations Development Programme, 1982]

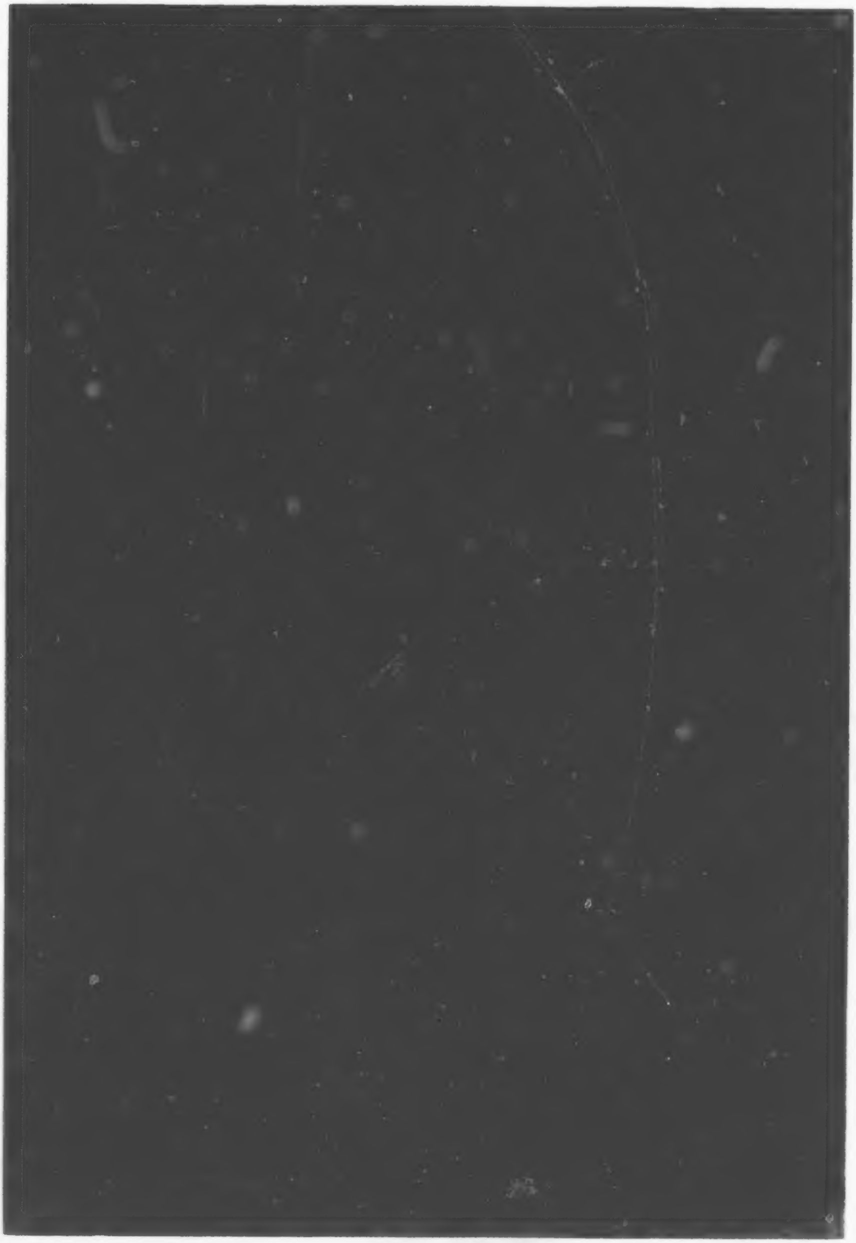
Militatization

Chile: the Most Painful HOur [Jonathan Dimbleby, United Kingdom, 1978, 16mm]
Strategic Trust: the Making of Nuclear Free Palau [James Heddle, Positive Futures Center, Appleseed Productions & Naczinski & Associates]
To Sing Our Song [Anthony Isaacs, BBC Third Eye Series, United Kingdom, 1982, video]

Witness to War: and American Doctor in El Salvador [Deborah Shaffer, Skylight Pictures & AFSC, USA, 1970, 16mm]
Who Invited Us? [Alan M. Levin, N.E.T.,USA, 1970, 16mm]

Other Country/Regional Case-Studies

Africa, 8 episodes [Basil Davidson and John Percival, MItchell Beazley TV, RM Arts/ Channel Four/ Nigerian TB Authority, Great Britain, 1984, video]
Americas in Transition [Obie Benz, USA, 1982, 16mm]
Apartheid: Analysis of a Conflict [John Blake, Granada Television, United Kingdom, 1986]
Central America: Roots of the Crisis [American Friends Service Committee, USA, 1980, slide-tape]
Chile: Hast Cuando [David Bradbury, Australia, 1986, 16mm]
Generations of Resistance, South Africa [Peter Davis, USA, 1980,16mm]
Last Grave at Dimbaza, South Africa [Nan Mahomo, South Africa/ United Kingdom, 1973, 16mm]
Mandela [Peter Davis, Villon Films & National Black Programming Consortium, 1986, 16mm]
Nicaragua: No Pasaran [David Bradbury, Australia, 1984, 16mm]
South Africa Belongs to Us [Chris Austin, Peter Chappell and Ruth Weiss, West Germany, 1980]
To Sing Our Own Song, Philippines [Anthony Isaacs, BBC Third Eye Series, United Kingdom, 1982]
When the Mountains Tremble, Guatemala [Pamela Yates and Thomas Siegel, Skylight Pictures, Guatemala/ USA, 1983]



MEDIA STUDIES IN SCHOOLS - INTO THE NEXT ERA

by

Barrie McMahon and Robyn Quin

The questions of what should be taught and how one should teach it have plagued educational administrators, curriculum designers, and classroom teachers in all countries for as long as most of us can remember. Media studies, or audio-visual education as it is known in some European countries, has not escaped these debates about the relevance of the curriculum or about which pedagogical strategies are most desirable. Fifteen years ago media studies could be best described as a hybrid, existing largely as an element within English, art, and social science courses and thus taught in a variety of guises and manners. It lacked an identifiable body of objectives and content, and methodology was necessarily shaped by its "parent" subject. Today, however, an examination of the published curriculum materials from a considerable number of countries suggests that media studies has emerged from its confused origins to a position where it now has coherence, consistency, and commonality across many of the school courses. Regardless of whether the early roots of media studies lie in film study, educational technology, literary studies, or in the film and photographic arts, there are now many courses across the world which are striking in their similarity. Courses in Australia, Scotland, Wales, Canada, and to some extent, The Netherlands, illustrate this. The similarity occurs both in the general objectives and in the content organization. The two examples of course outlines are taken from the Western Australian Ministry of Education (1987) and from the Scottish Film Council (1988).

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RATIONALE

Media Studies is the study of the modern mass media, namely television, radio, film, mass print, and photografhy as it occurs in the mass print.

These communication systems are seen as being most significant forms of communication in modern society. In order to understand their impact it is necessary to understand the languages of the mass media. This involves understanding the links between the languages and the cultures which generate them, the economic factors which affect the production or reception of mass media messages, and the ways that audiences develop understandings from the media messages. The latter involves audience perception of both surface and deeper (cultural) meaning associated with the mass media messages.

The organising pedagogy for the study focuses upon the nature of communication, the codes and conventions associated with the language systems, the narrative patterns that are developed, and the social implications of the messages.

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Stage 5	Stage 6
EMPHASIS: Media Introduction	EMPHASIS: Media Language	EMPHASIS: Narrative and Genre	EMPHASIS: Representation	EMPHASIS: Australian Social context	EMPHASIS: Media Issues
Media Studies Introduction 1.1	Film and Television Introduction 2.1	Broadcast Radio and Television 3.1	Stars and Stereotypes 4.1	Film, TV Photo Documentary 5.1	Media Case Study 6.1
(1211)	(1211)	(1231)	(1241)	(1251)	(1261)
	Photography 6 Print Introduction 2.2	Film Genre 3.2	Advertising 4.2	Film, TV Print Fictions 5.2	School-based Media Project: Documentary of Fiction 6.2
	(1222)	(1232)	(1242)	(1252)	(1262)
	Radio, Music Introduction 2.3	Popular Fiction Popular Magazines 3.3	Popular Culture Video games to TV Game shows 4.3	Media Images of Australia 5.3	Community based Media Project & Research 6.3
	(1223)	(1233)	(1243)	(1253)	(1263)

Ministry of Education, "The Unit Curriculum", *Media Studies*, March 1987, East Perth, 1987.

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To enable young people at school, home and in their environment to increase their understanding, critical appreciation and enjoyment of the mass media.
To achieve that objective media education should enable young people:

- to understand how media messages are created;
- to know the nature and diversity of the mass media;
- to better understand the processes of media production through practical production;
- to explore their own reactions to the mass media through all forms of expression, individually and collectively.

MEDIA EDUCATION SHORT COURSES: S3 AND S4

Level	1	2	3	4	5	6
Organising Idea	Introduction	Media Language	Narratives	Representations	Scottish Context	Media Issues
	1.1 General Introduction	2.1 Stills and Words	3.1 Narratives in Fact and Fiction	4.1 Stars (e.g. pop, film media)	5.1 Scottish representations: images and industries	6.1 Case Study
		2.2 Moving Images	3.2 Narratives and Genre	4.2 Advertising	5.2 Broadcasting	6.2 School-based production e.g. school magazine, video, tape-slide
		2.3 Sound	3.3 Narratives and Authorship	4.3 Youth culture	5.3 Print (e.g. newspapers, magazines, comics, books)	6.3 Community based production

Scottish Film Council, *Media Education: Curriculum Guidelines*, Glasgow, 1988.

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The congruence of thinking across the world is not merely coincidence. There has been significant cross fertilization of ideas through various conferences. In some cases consultation and even direct collusion have occurred as was the case with the Western Australian and Scottish courses. The media studies fraternity is a small international community and its members have willingly shared their ideas. Textbooks too, readily cross national boundaries and this enables common curriculum priorities to become common classroom practice. The global village is now subjected to scrutiny by the global media classroom.

Conferences and textbooks cannot fully account for the similarities in various national, state and locally designed courses for while media educators may meet, they may not necessarily agree. It is more likely that parallel courses have emerged as a result of certain shared perceptions and assumptions which underpin the pedagogical decisions of media educators. The common conceptual denominator is the belief that the mass media should be studied within the larger socio-cultural framework in which it operates. This conviction has meant that critical methods derived from cultural studies are gaining popularity as a worthwhile approach to media education. Without attempting to redefine the discipline, we find it useful to re-emphasise some of the basic tenets of this approach.

Cultural Studies Approach

According to Fiske (1987: 258), central to the cultural studies approach is the belief that:

> "(...) meanings and the making of them (which together constitute culture) are indivisibly linked to the social structure and can only be explained in terms of that structure and history."

The mass media are important parts of the continuing construction of the social structure. The cultural studies approach is based on an examination of the language or "codes" in which mass media messages are formulated and the nature of the production system through which they are processed. The production system in this sense is not simply a physical or a mechanical one. It is the institutions and personnel of the mass media through which the text, i.e., the media message, is encoded. For example, in the production of a television programme media professionals may draw upon events, topics, people, and definitions of situations from a wider sociopolitical context. In this sense the audience is both the beginning and the end of the communication process.

The cultural studies approach examines three broad areas: organisational processes, institutional processes, and audience. Organisational processes include such things as the conventions and routines of production, technical skills, professional ideologies and practices, assumptions about the audience, and definitions of what constitutes a "good" programme which frame the text in the production phase. Institutional processes are concerned with the nature of the relationship between the media producers and the other institutions of power and control in the society. Some of these institutions will be formal ones such as governments, police, the law, churches, education systems, pressure groups and political parties. Other informal institutions such as custom and tradition, leisure habits, fashion and taste, established genres and historical precedent, are seen as equally important forces in determining the construction of media texts. The third area of interest to cultural studies is the audience and the processes by which audiences come to accept as "natural" the view of society projected by the media. The cultural studies approach sees the media as an arena in which competing forces fight, figuratively not literally, for their view of society to be accepted as the normal, commonsense one. Because the struggle is an ongoing one the consensus is constantly being redefined. Furthermore, the cultural studies approach regards the relationship between the media and society as fluid and problematic. It anticipates both deviant and inconsistent as well as consensual and coherent values which will be revealed by examining media messages.

The present emphasis on the cultural context is in itself the result of educational struggle. The losers in the battle were those who promoted media education as the protective shell which would shelter the students against the "evils" of the modern mass media. The other losers were those who, believing themselves able to identify the worthy and the profound, saw media education as the means to train popular discrimination against popular media. There are still proponents of both schools of media education, but those who believe the mass media should be studied in the context of the social, political, economic, historical, aesthetic, and ideological forces operating in the culture are in the ascendency. A cultural studies approach is the new norm, the new common media sense.

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Textual Analysis

Textual analysis has been the popular critical tool for media analysis in the approaches which emphasis the study of the cultural. When done well, training in textual analysis will provide students with transferable skills, skills which, developed in relation to particular films, photographs or television programmes, may be readily applied to the wide range of media texts encountered outside the classroom and in the future. To be effective, textual analysis skills must be developed sequentially and with an emphasis on *analysis* not description. In other words, the focus should be on how meaning is created. Textual analysis skills for secondary students are developed in depth in the authors' first two books, *Exploring Images (1988)* and *Real Images (1986)*.

The cultural context of media texts

Let us now turn to the issue of teaching about the cultural context of media texts. All of the courses we examined currently attempt to extend student understanding of the text by devoting some time to the context of its appearance through the inclusion of units or sections on such issues as ownership and control of the mass media, technological development, and mass communication theories. It is at the level of context that the real difficulties arise. To date we have not met a teacher who claimed the parts of the course dealing with these issues were popular and there are many who describe them as tortuous experiences. This contextual analysis is difficult for students. This is partly because of their limited social experience of the forces and issues being addressed and partly because they are overwhelmed by detail. There is a temptation on the part of teachers to delve too deeply into current particulars about satellite technology, the possibilites of fibre optics and interactive video and so on, without ever grappling with the overarching forces that determine the modes of delivery and reception of communications. The focus in media studies should be shifted away from the details of who owns what and onto the examination of the social origins and consequences of technological development and questions about the "neutrality" of technology. In any case, detailed studies of ownership, control, and the latest electronic whizz bangery may be a waste of time given the propensity for corporate raiding in the communication industries and the rate of technological change. Contextual analysis needs to be made accessible, relevant and durable.

Combining text and context: some problems

This article aims to suggest some strategies for the study of both text and context which will go some way towards the education of a student with the skills to critically evaluate the ways the media represents the world and the role of the media in society.

We have already stated our support for an approach which focuses upon textual analysis supported by contextual study. What is proposed in this article is not a denial of this approach but rather a development beyond this sound but basic framework.

The principle, of placing textual analysis as the central critical method supported by contextual analysis, is we believe applicable to all ages. However the examples in the article are aimed at upper secondary students. These are students between 16 and 18 years of age. These students will, in most cases, have had some media education earlier in their school lives. They may have either studied the mass media as a discrete subject or they may have received incidental media education as part of their studies of English.

There are two major and related problems inherent in our baldly stated aim of developing the critically acute student able to analyse his or her media environment independently of the teacher and the classroom structures. First is the product - the critically independent student. The phrase begs the question, "Independent from what?". Independent of the problem of which approaches we adopt remains the fact that they will operate within an ideological domain manifested in such practices as the way we structure our lessons, choose our content, furnish our rooms, and allocate power within the classroom. The classroom is not value free; it is simply another cultural/social practice. We need to ask, then, whose interests are being served by the application of particular educational processes and practices? Ideologically loaded learning structures cannot be avoided, but it is important that the structures themselves are opened up to critical analysis. Judith Williamson (1981/82: 83) points us in this direction with her comments on tertiary level teaching:

> "The idea of ideology as something we all participate in, underlies the first possibility of critical thought, because it shows that no ideas are "given" or "absolute". Without

> the notion of cultural relativism truly questioning thought is impossible, because our own premises are never questioned."

An effective cultural studies approach should look inwards as well as outwards and open up the micro-culture of the classroom to critical analysis in order to make visible the value laden structures in operation.

The second problem is the difficulty in getting students to extrapolate the cultural inferences from their analysis of particular media texts. This task is made more complicated by the frequent conflation of textual analysis and content analysis that happens in the classroom and indeed amongst media theorists. Content analysis establishes certain categories in relation to media content and then quantitatively assesses the presences or absences of these categories in the text under observation. The method stresses the manifest content of the message as the most fruitful area for analysis. Effective textual analysis, while it may use content analysis in part, will concern itself with media messages as structured wholes. Textual analysis does not assume that the item which occurs most frequently is necessarily the most important or the most significant. Rather, significance is determined by where the item is placed in the whole. For example, a content analysis of *King Kong* would lead us to count at least twenty nasty, frightening and violent acts performed by Kong in the first hour of the movie. However his one touching act in gently caressing Fay Wray actually causes us to revise our understanding of his character. One single act contributes significantly to the meaning of Kong and it is only by examining the film as a structured whole can we take this into account in our analysis.

In using textual analysis as a critical tool it is important to look at both the internal structure of the media message *and* the cultural arena in which the interplay of codes takes place. It is in the interplay of codes, in the negotiation between text and reader that meaning is generated. However textual analysis in itself will not inform students fully about the cultural context of the message. Identification, description and interpretation of the cultural arena is a difficult task for all, but doubly difficult for students who have limited knowledge of the determining political, historical, social, and economic forces at work. Even the best of scholars can be led to some questionable conclusions if they leap from textual analysis to conclusions about ideology without the benefit of reference to other discourses.

In a lively and entertaining article called "Surfalism and Sandiotics: The Beach in Oz Culture" (1983), John Fiske made a detailed semiotic analysis of a fairly inaccessible metropolitan nude beach in Western Australia. He argued that the beachfront road operated as a division between culture (the suburbs) and nature (the ocean). He concluded his study with the argument that the nude beach had developed in its isolated and inaccessible position because it constituted nature. What he did not take into account in his study were other forces at work in determining the location of the beach. In this case the ocean frontland in question belonged to the federal government and hence was not subject to local by-laws and regulations. People could bathe nude on that particular stretch of beach and not be harassed by the beach patrol or local police. By limiting his analysis solely to the text of the beach Fiske arrived at an amusing but rather doubtful conclusion about the ideological meaning of the site.

There is also a tendency for students to draw conclusions they believe to be popular and/or acceptable in the classroom. Either students know the style of the questions and trot out the pre-packaged answer or the style of the question itself suggests an appropriate answer. For example teachers often start their ventures into issues of ideology by illustrating some of the more blatant examples of ideological practice. Frequently they will use advertisements to illustrate some sexist positions which are in evidence in some of our media texts. Students will often latch on to the quite simple illustration and use it as a model for future analyses. They become spotters and labellers of sexism in multitudes of texts without investigating the subtleties of the issue. The label becomes the ready made answer and this forecloses further debate.

The task for media studies teachers in the future is to devise ways in which students can get an understanding of the cultural forces that determine the meaning of media texts. Such understanding will diminish the need for the great intuitive leap described earlier and hopefully eliminate its corollary, the pre-packaged, simplistic answer. Research being done in the cultural studies field itself offers some help here and some of the research methodologies could be valuably incorporated into our media curricula.

New Approaches

Two leading cultural studies research groups are the Institute for Cultural Policy Studies under the directorship of Tony Bennett at Griffith University in Queensland, Australia, and the Centre for Mass Communication, Leicester, where Graham Murdock and others are working.

There are similarities in the research methodologies of both organizations. Both tend to investigate the various discourses which surround the area of investigation. For example, an occasional paper from the Institute For Cultural Policy Studies, entitled "Tourism Down Under: Tourism Policies in the Tropics" (1988) the author, Jennifer Craik, examines the policies that underpin the Queensland tourist industry. The researcher finds it necessary to also examine the various discourses which provide the context for the policy. This means analysing the previous research methods which have led to the assumptions, the "common sense" which underpin the policy. Another research framework is provided by examination of many texts about the industry; for example, the publicity brochures, hotel rooming figures, ferry boat passenger lists and the views of key policy makers.

An analogy can be drawn between this type of issue survey and the land surveyor who takes readings on a landmark from various vantage points. The various readings allow the land surveyor to pinpoint the landmark with a high degree of accuracy. In a similar manner, the cultural analyst "reads" the various discourses in order to hone in upon the meaning in the text under review. Cultural variables do not lend themselves to pinpoint accuracy, but the methodology does add validity to the findings.

Graham Murdock revealed that a similar research methodoloy is being used by the Centre for Mass Communication, Leicester, when he spoke at the Australian National Media Education Conference in 1988. Murdock indicated that media treatments of the "law and order" issue were currently being examined by the Centre. Before examining the media texts, the researchers investigated the other discourses which inform the media texts. Police attitudes, existing legislation, views of specific groups in particular locales, are but a few examples of the areas which were investigated. Such knowledge allowed the researchers to gain greater insight into the various contradictions and positions which were apparent in the media texts.

If it is possible to apply the principles of the above research models to media curriculum development then it should reduce the need for massive intuitive leaps on the part of the student when the link between culture and media text has to be made. This will in turn reduce the possibility of drawing conclusions which are difficult to justify, or basing conclusions about new texts upon some well worn models or of identifying the relationship in the most simplistic terms.

Method

The research principles cannot be implemented by replication. Students do not have the time, the research skills, or the perseverance at this stage of their lives to undertake major research tasks. They are however capable of case study and independent project work. Through such activities they can be encouraged to examine a variety of extra-textual forces in a stuctured manner. The aim should be to help students move from their own commonsense understandings to ones which are both theoretically informed and methodologically rigorous. To this end students should be encouraged to use a wide range of analytical tools - narrative analysis, commutative techniques, textual analysis, content analysis, discourse analysis, and sociological analysis. These tools help to reveal the patterns, contradictions and tensions within their own research material. The use of a wide range of methodologies and concepts reinforces the idea that no one discipline or body of knowledge is privileged, normal, or natural.

A preliminary task for the teacher is to demonstrate to the students that any media text is polysemous, that is, informed by various pre-existent discourses. It will not be possible to examine all of the discourses on every issue, but rather the intention is to build up over a period of time a schemata of the avenues which could be explored. Case studies developed around various topical media issues could be the means towards this end. For example, at the time of writing two topical issues are the Seoul Olympic games and the pressure in our country to ban Scorcese's film *The Last Temptation of Christ.* Either issue could be valuably studied in terms of the contextual forces operating before any analysis of the actual text is made.

Which of the many cultural forces should the student investigate? Student accessibility to information will partly determine the answer to this question. Students will need to be able to conduct their own research. It must be remembered, however, that the search is for information and the sources must be subject to critical scrutiny and not accepted as empirical "truth" in their own right. For example, interviews by students of news journalists can simply serve to reinforce the myth of journalists and the press as being the indispensible cog in the democratic state, the myth of the fourth estate. It must be clear to the student when such exercises are embarked upon that the quest is for information about what informs the text, not about a particular profession or about a particular technology.

Taking the lead from the methodology employed by cultural analysts we suggest that the following areas should be attended to at some stage in the student's media education:

- *Information technology*. The influence of information technology on mass communications, the social consequences of the privatisation of information, the impact of technology on existing definitions of work and leisure, the relationship between information and knowledge, the interface between technology and political power, electronic knowledge and cultural production are a few issues which could provide a research focus for students.
- Intertextuality. This refers to the idea that any one text is always read in relation to others and that a range of textual knowledges and understandings is brought to bear to make sense of the text. Students might focus on questions of programming conventions, genres, audience pleasure and marketing approaches.
- Aesthetics. This embraces questions of taste, style, and fashion and their relationship to social forces, socio-economic class and time period.
- Law and policy. This area would include both the formal power structures and the informal, such as pressure groups and social customs.
- Myth and discourse. The examination of institutionalized ways of representing topics of importance to our society such as progress, science, law and order, race, gender, class, deviance, and disease are crucial to an understanding of the ways in which media texts construct and audiences interpret the world.

The methodology is exemplified in greater detail in the authors' earlier text *Stories and Stereotypes* in the final chapter on Aboriginal stereotypes. The issue under discussion in the chapter is the representation of Australian Aborigines in the mass media and a cultural studies approach is used. The method employs textual analysis in that it looks at specific media representations and analyses the codes operating in the images. It does not limit itself to analysis of a given text. Discourses of history which have moulded the Aboriginal stereotype are explored in some depth, for example, 18th century European images of black people, the armed struggles between Aboriginals and white settlers, the formation of native reserves, the role of the welfare agencies, legislation to control the movements of Aboriginal people and the role of the unions are some of the extra-textual forces explored in the course of the study. Some of the information is given to the students, other information must be gleaned by them from research and interview.

To return to an earlier example, if the issue of censorship of the Scorcese film was on the classroom agenda, the opportunity might be used to explore current debates about aesthetics, morality, censorship and freedom as well as examining powers wielded by media combines, religious pressure groups and church institutions. A topic such as the Olympic games may promote student research into such issues as questions of newsworthiness, the possibilities and limitations of satellite technology, conventions of genre, historical precedents, and discourses of race, nationalism, and progress. Subsequent textual analysis of the Games coverage would then be informed by and understanding of the social, economic, and political forces at work in determining the text.

After several such analyses, spread over a long learning period, the student will develop a broader perception of the interplay that is inevitable in the construction of meaning. Although none of the studies will address all of the issues, a mental framework will develop which places a media text firmly within its social context. Students' understandings of the media are enriched by new perspectives on the processes of signification - the ways in which a media text "makes sense" - perspectives gained from studying the construction of meaning as a social practice.

This proposes an order of priority for the next era of media education. The proposal is to retain textual analysis as the locus of study, but to add a dimension which will sharpen the methodology and heighten the credibility of the findings.

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CREATIVE CURRICULUM PACKAGING FOR DIVERSE POPULATIONS:
LEARNING ABOUT TELEVISION AND FILM,
A PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY AND A PERSONAL CHALLENGE

by

Carol Ann Valentine

Many persons are interested and anxious to pursue university level education. They often are, however, unable to pursue this goal because time or space (distance) makes it difficult. Resignation sets in when a person decides "There is no way I can complete this program given my current circumstances." This article explores analyzing the individual's difficulties and developing audiovisual options that take time and space into account while *simultaneously* teaching about audiovisual media.

Now, of course, we return to the age old principle that content understanding requires processing abilities. Of course, content and process are inseparable. They are both united with a clarity we dare not separate.

Specific options that have been developed by Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona, U.S.A. are explored. One example is a traditional correspondence course expanded by the additions of discussion guides, videotapes, and films that not only enrich the course but make it palatable and even exciting for those who say they would miss the lectures if they took a course by correspondence. Interactive video and satellite possibilities are discussed in the context of the WCCI 1989 conference theme of "Creative Curriculum Development and Practice."

The closing section argues that it is a responsibility of all who produce audiovisual media to aid in educating those of all ages about its content and process.

As Van Stapele describes (1987, and *Introduction*, pp.7-10), audiovisual technology requires interpretation, and arguably, the producers should serve as the interactive agents; they should encourage, prod, profess, and require that those who utilize audiovisual media know both about the content and the media process. Theoretically the result would be more educated consumers of audiovisual materials who also know more content through extensive exposures.

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TELEVISION AND FILM

Introduction

As Peter van Stapele discussed in his thoughtful, creative, and provocative statement to the WCCI Region 6 meeting in New Orleans, education is a process of interaction in which one or more humans act as intermediary agents between the others and their worlds. The worlds are changing and the means through which humans interact and learn are as new, thoughtful, creative, and provocative as Van Stapele's thoughts.

The conjugal relationship between content and process has stood the test of time. This is, indeed, a marriage of thought and action. This marriage of thought and action is critical for educators. "What do you teach?" is no longer a singular question. *What* do you teach, *how* you teach it, and *why* do you do that? A self consciousness about curriculum and its implications is necessary.

This article addresses the interests of many people who would like to pursue a formal curriculum but who find themselves unable to pursue a formal education due to problems of time and/or space (distance). In particular, how can they learn from audiovisual media and, at the same time, learn about the media they are using? More specifically, how do we introduce these folks to the links between content and the process of learning and enable them to utilize alternative forms of learning?

To begin at some point, resignation sets in when persons decide, "There is no way I can accomplish my goal given my current circumstances." Obviously, mass media is capable of and should offer options here, although many people indicate their inability to learn except in a face-to-face, "real teacher" environment. The difficulties are not inherent to the individuals but they nevertheless suffer from a lack of access to educational coursework, degree programs, and materials.

Sometimes the difficulties are not the direct making of either time or space. Other life circumstances often, singularly or in combination, mitigate against regular attendance in courses. Consider, as examples, the irregular hours of flight attendants, the childcare needs that face so many parents, the mobility problems of some disabled persons, and the transportation problems of numerous elderly and infirm.

Whatever the reason, a society that values education, aims at access for all to enhance the individual, the families, and the society. This requires recognition that technology now exists and should be utilized to provide diversified and enriching curriculum for diverse, even individual needs.

In fact, there are numerous options for those seeking higher education that are either available or potentially available through existing delivery systems. They should be! Simply because a human does not reside geographically contiguous to a formal institution of learning should not disenfranchise the majority of world peoples from formal education, degrees, diplomas, and the attendant credentials that weigh so importantly in definitions of vocational, career, and personal success. Nonetheless, these students must be educated in how they can simultaneously *learn from* the media and *learn about* the media. This process is part of the content.

In sum, this article will focus on options and alternative delivery systems not necessarily because these proposed ideas are the best ideas. People who are not at the educational institution must learn to trust alternative delivery systems, concurrently learning about media while learning content from the media.

Options

Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona, U.S.A., has developed specific options which are designed to accommodate some of these diverse populations. Correspondence study is available for all populations. This is an option that should be widely developed. We must focus on bringing the materials to the student, not the reverse when involved with the economically disadvantaged or the less intelligent.

Correspondence study is a viable option for those who find reading and answering questions, completing problems, and writing essays in absentia a challenge. Others complain that correspondence work is boring and lacks the interaction that makes classes fun. Presently, technology offers many additional dimensions to the traditional correspondence course. Why not enrich these options with video tapes that present course material, and films that present course content?

In addition, correspondence study has a long history and tradition in higher education. Added dimensions exist for these courses which were made possible by the advent of such potential additions as VHS taped lectures, cassettes, interactive video, telephone conference calls, and relatively inexpensive video cameras.

With these technologies come possibilities such as shipping videotaped lectures and supplemental material with the written materials. Interactive video offers the potential of being able to talk directly with the teacher or teachers or even with experts from around the world. Satellite transmission makes many things possible.

While perhaps satellite time would be prohibitively expensive, video cameras are of a much less magnitude in cost. Video cameras could be made available through schools, universities, and communities. These could be borrowed or rented, and responses to lessons could be taped and sent to the instructor. A combination literature and video course or short course has several advantages. The variety adds interest to the otherwise book--oriented option.

"Women and Communication" (Communication 316), and other prepackaged courses through Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona, U.S.A., are currently available from the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and other sources. These courses offer readings while utilizing audiovisual media.

These few suggestions harken to Van Stapele's central point of how to learn to experience, to understand, to value, and to make realities (objects and situations) in a social relationship with others, also on an international level. Van Stapele's point is well taken.

Clearly, by implication the notion is that audiovisual mass media can serve as a vehicle for the dialectical relationship between the person and the knowledge, understanding and feeling. This is, indeed, possible. First, we must envision a process oriented curriculum that will focus not only on the content of knowledge but on the process of knowledge as well. As Parker and Rubin argued, "The facilitation of process-centered curriculum must therefore depend upon altering forces both within the individuals concerned and within the organizational milieu." Respecting audiovisual courses and materials, to reach their potential a process of discovery must be foremost for the learning and for the learner. It is at this point we have basic arguments about learning. Should we read the great books or should we concentrate on analyzing experience? In my twenty-five years as a teacher (1964-1989), this is the most frustrating dichotomy. We should do both. We should link them together and we should make the connections clear to students.

This assumption is not universally shared, however. Pinar, for example, argues against any intervention in the learning process. A product of introspection, he concluded we "must come to learn to take ourselves as data." In the book *Toward a Poor Curriculum*, Pinar begins by extolling the simple "son" curriculum. A poor curriculum is one stripped of its distractions. Stripped of videotape, audiotape, fancy books, and buildings, values clarification and individualized instruction. Stripped of all the clothing we drape around ourselves to keep us from seeing.

From my perspective, it is the audiovisual media which can help us see and understand ourselves and the worlds around us and the connections. Pinar has a point in valuing the simple methods of learning. In 1989, is it still teacher on one end of a log and a student on the other? No. Today audiovisual technologies are one possible part of the interaction between student and curriculum. Frymier, as Garman and Haggerson address, took a consistent position by describing a curriculum of three basic elements: actors, artifacts, and operations. If we conceive of "operations" as the processes involving the interaction of actors and artifacts, we see audiovisual education as a central content and process enriched with the reality of life.

As Van Stapele asks, however, how central should audiovisual mass media be in education? That is to say, for time and/or space bound students, audiovisuals can be a boon to completing a formal or informal education. With others we do what is significant for the content. Whichever, we monitor formally and informally. Does it work in this circumstance?

Film, videos, recordings, television, radio, and other media, at a minimum, enrich the curriculum. At a maximum, they serve to deliver the curriculum. At the extreme, as McLuhan argued, "the medium is the message". Audiovisual media are capable of becoming the curriculum. Do we want them to be or do we agree with Pinar? Whether or not the medium is the message, and we gain appreciation of the value of learning from film and television, as an example, this is an interesting question for creative curricular specialists.

Now, we again face the questions directly, within the above context. What?, How?, When?, Where?, and Why do we want to develop audiovisual mass media education? What should human beings learn about mass media? Why should they learn it? Human beings should learn what they want to know about the mass media, but we are now talking about processes and not about content. We are not speaking of traditional disciplines such as history, literature, astronomy, and rhetoric. We are talking about the significance of media. That which, indeed, gives these topics importance beyond traditional disciplines is the pervasiveness of mass media. In Western cultures and in Eastern and Middle Eastern cultures we are often deluged with and sometimes bereft of information. Film and television are continuous influences for many of us and for our students.

After we speak of "What should be learned?" and "Why should it be learned?" we ask "How should people learn?". Terms like "students" and "pupils" subordinate people, and, as Garman and Haggerson point out, "...learning may not be the exclusive domain of the educator". I believe the Garman and Haggerson notion of education can fashion all kinds of opportunities but, in reality, most opportunities for most students are outside the formal curricular domain. Thus community development programs and other means of alerting people to becoming more observant and more critical come into play. For example, newspapers could publish articles on how to criticize the media. Television, on a clear channel, or in conjunction with commercial or government programs could provide information on how to view and criticize. An announcement such as the following could be useful:

> "The following broadcast is designed for your information and/or entertainment. These broadcasters are most interested in your comments. Please send your critical comments to... Upon receipt of your comments we will send you a media user's guide."

The media user's guide could serve to educate. Broadcasters could combine didactic functions and critical functions in both commercial and educational programs. How can consumers be appropriately encouraged to learn how to learn? At a pragmatic level, these media materials should be postage paid and should have built-in incentives appropriate in the audience.

As a citizen of the United States, I must speak at this point concerning media overload. For many, but not all residents, we experience a deluge of mass media. One could spend twenty-four hours a day listening and responding to the television -- twenty--four hour news, twenty-four hour sports, twenty-four hour movies, and twenty-four hour weather-reports. Several writers and theorists have spoken of "information overload". In fact, given the incredible array of audiovisual media bombardment, it is curious that there is so little focus on innovation and implementation of programs to educate about the media. Van Stapele issues a challenge to all. This should be done.

One notable exception to this lack of education about programming is the Children's Television Workshop. Even with this lively and innovative programming for children, the innovation is one largely of content and not of process analysis. Much more could be done.

Unfortunately, we are left recognizing the centrality of audiovisual communication and simultaneously recognizing the inadequacy of education about audiovisual mass media. Thus again we come to Van Stapele's last question, "Is it necessary to develop new or to adapt existing theories as a basis for the development of a methodology for audiovisual mass media education?". Van Stapele's question is appropriate, but the answer might be scaled down. Indeed, perhaps the question is a more pragmatic one: forget the theories and the metatheories, and concentrate on doing education about media.

My question is then, how can agencies, networks, stations, companies, conglomerates, governments, schools, parents, the general public, newspapers, and others educate the educatables to be active critics of the audio and visual stuff that is thrown at them? In the U.S.A., selectivity is a necessary communication skill. Without it, bombardment, information overload, burn out, rigor mortis, and other "catch phrases" result. The providers must bear responsibilities to teach the receivers. Plus, content understanding, at any age, requires process understanding. The teaching of content similarly requires an understanding of the process required to uncover the content.

Jobs change and emphasis change, and students must learn the content of a job while learning the concomitant processes and to transfer knowledge, skills, and processes from one venue to another.

Communications should take knowledge and processes to the students' homes, workplaces, recreational spaces, etc. Education is too important to leave to schools and universities. Education is a societal responsibility.

Integration of content and process is still critical. Discussions about what should be taught must be tempered by the thoughts of the delivery systems. Professional curriculum educators need knowledge of both content and process. Clearly, teaching about content requires simultaneous thought about alternative methods, alternative materials, alternative delivery systems, alternative grading systems, and general alternatives to accommodate all the educable public.

Thus, all those who devise, develop, and depend on their livelihood through media share a larger responsibility. The larger responsibility is to recognize that content understanding requires process ability.

Conclusions

The answers to ethical questions arise and increase the mandate. Is it an ethical responsibility to teach about the media while presenting content? My opinion is "yes." Still, not only is this not a popular opinion, I do not think it is a frequently discussed opinion. That is, media have for too long been an end to themselves. In the United States, the profit motive is generally *the* motive. Is it a good show? One must ask, however, is the show of itself enough? No. Media is capable of presenting content and delivery information.

Capitalism could merge at some point with idealism and with humanism. Professional educators should attend to process overload by content and content overload by process. People of all ages and places deserve recognition of the need to learn about things while learning of things. This proposal is, of course, a radical one, but one that is in line with Van Stapele's motif. Audiovisual receivers and producers could cooperatively interact with an end result of citizens who are informed about media content *and* media process.

Curriculum specialists must, if one follows this reasoning, no longer be passive observers of separations between curriculum and audiovisual methods. How, where, what, when, why, and with what objectives have never been separate issues for the true educator and they should never be separation points for us. We are seeking to educate our worlds and we should never be deterred by false dichotomies. Process and content are united with a clarity that we cannot and must not separate.

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MASS MEDIA AND EDUCATION: A MUTUAL CHALLENGE

by

David Butts

It is difficult from a British point of view to be "media selective" in any consideration of the mass media as objects of study. We see media education as extending across the whole range of organised media of communication, from comics to computer games; and, while there are still teachers who prefer to run courses based on specific media - for example, television studies or press studies - current thinking inclines more and more to the belief that a coherent approach to media education must be based on concepts which relate to the whole mass media spectrum, such as construction, narrative, representation, audience, and ideology.

Nevertheless, national surveys of course syllabuses reveal that television has become a kind of flagship of media studies, a natural leader by virtue of its pervasiveness and popularity. Film study, on the other hand, is now largely limited to courses within higher education, and it is arguable that the claim of film to be a mass medium rests mainly on its outlets through television and video. Indeed, young people now use the word "film" indiscriminately to apply to both cinematic and video processes; while, for those who work in the industries, technological change has increasingly blurred the differences in production processes and post-production techniques.

Inevitably, therefore, this article will deal with issues that apply to media education in general, though examples will be drawn where possible from the audiovisual aspects of the field of study.

Rationales for media education

Reflection on the place of media education within the curriculum of schools and colleges must begin with the question WHY?

Enthusiasts for media teaching insist that they are offering an exciting new challenge to the established curriculum, under a banner inscribed with words such as "relevant" and "meaningful". But the curriculum - necessarily a selection from all the experiences that make up the totality of learning - equally challenges media education to justify itself. The time in our lives allotted to schooling is inelastic and, if media education goes into the curriculum, something else must go out to make room for it. On what grounds should we welcome this rumbustious cuckoo in the educational nest?

Academic attitudes change slowly and it has taken over fifty years in Britain to move teachers from a stance of ignoring the existence of the mass media, through a determination to inoculate the young against their degrading influence, yielding to a desire to develop an ability to discriminate between "good" media products and "bad", and evolving towards the current belief that understanding of mass media functions, as production processes and as industries, should precede any premature attempt at evaluation. Today there is broad agreement among educationists that media study deserves to find a place within education at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. Important arguments in its favour have been summarised by Masterman (1985) as:

- -the saturation of contemporary society by the media
- -the ideological importance and influence of the media as "consciousness industries"
- -the growth in the management and manufacture of mediated information
- -media penetration of our central democratic processes
- -the increasing importance of visual communication and information
- -the growing pressures to privatise information
- -the need to educate students to meet the demands of the future.

A rationale of this kind leads Masterman to the conviction that the primary objective of media education is to develop in students a "critical autonomy", enabling them to apply critical judgements to media texts which they will encounter in the future, independent of any prompting from a teacher who, perhaps unwittingly, may be persuading them what to think. The emphasis is on the acquisition of analytical skills, and practical work - film and video making, for instance - is seen as a means to this end. As Hartley et al. (1985) have pointed out, there is "a distancing from creativity for its own sake" and this demands "that discussion and written work move beyond the expression of personal opinion and questions of *what* is produced to confront a

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crucial set of issues concerning *how?* and *by whom*? It also makes it imperative that, in practical work, the notion of the inspired artist is pushed well into the backgound."

Keywords for the advocates of this intellectually demanding approach - an approach which has become the received doctrine of the media education movement in Britain - are "deconstruction", "demystification", "demythologising". However, there are teachers who see media study in a different light and who are prepared to justify it on other grounds. Some would argue that the making of artefacts can be a rewarding and self-sufficient activity, as educationally valuable in media studies as it is in art, music or written composition; and that, in any case, creativity necessarily involves analysis. Others would point out that the mass media, particularly television, now provide expressive outlets for the best creative talent among writers, artists and producers and that the media can present work of artistic quality that young people should be given a chance to savour and interpret at a personal level. To dismiss these arguments as unimportant, irrelevant or reactionary is to make a value judgement, both about the nature of the mass media and about priorities in studying them.

Content and contexts

Over the past ten years, there has been a widespread feeling that debate about a rationale and direction for media education is healthy and that decisions about *what* is to be taught should not be imposed on teachers by the authority of curriculum guidelines or external examination syllabuses. Today, however, it is conceded that an agreed concept of what media education concists of must be established as a prerequisite for determining a context for this field of study within the curriculum. Media education enthusiasts will get short shrift from curriculum planners if they cannot answer questions such as:

- Is media study a distinctive discipline or an extension of one or more existing disciplines?
- To whom should it be taught and at what stage? What baseline (if any) of knowledge, experience, and skill is required to embark on it?
- How does the study evolve? Is there enough "content" in it to justify its place as a separate entity, particularly at the secondary stage of education?
- What are students expected to gain from it? What kind of "mastery" (if any) does it involve?

- Who is competent to teach it? Can teachers of other disciplines acquire necessary competence through in-service study, or does it demand teachers with a new kind of academic specialism and professional expertise?
- What kind of resources - of equipment, space, time, and money - are required to teach it effectively?

Significant decisions about *curriculum context* depend upon the answers to these questions. Up till now in Britain, a variety of contexts has emerged. At the primary school level, integration appears to have been unproblematical. Media study, whether in the form of visual literacy or of practically oriented project work, sits comfortably within the lap of environmental studies, language arts, and aesthetic experience. In secondary schools, four dominant patterns can be distinguished:

- short units of study within an established "subject" (usually English, but also Art, Drama, and Social Studies)
- multidisciplinary clusters of short courses, involving a rotation of student groups around several subject departments
- interdisciplinar initiatives, in which individual teachers from several departments pool their skills to produce what they hope will be a coherent course of study
- "free-standing" courses, taught by a teacher who has acquired a fair depth of knowledge and skill in relation to media teaching and who is recognised within the schools as an expert in this field of study.

Curriculum planners have tended to advocate a pyramidal structure extending over the secondary school years, with a broad base of permeation ("every teacher a teacher of media") and "inserts" within established subjects in the early years; a scatter of short course options, taught on a multi- or interdisciplinary basis, in the middle years; and discrete courses in greater depth for interested senior students.

Research into secondary school developments (for example, Butts, 1986) has indicated that all these patterns carry attendant problems. Siting media study within an established subject would seem to be administratively convenient, and both English and Art have made a strong claim to be the "natural" host. But the audiovisual nature of mass media such as television involves an integration of elements that school "subjects" have traditionally kept apart. For instance, an analytical study of how "meaning" is created in a TV commercial involves a consideration of how words, sounds, and images are fused together and of how the resultant "system" interacts with factors of financial control and audience positioning. Within the current organisation of secondary schooling, the quest for understanding could carry a student across the frontiers of English, Music, Art, Drama, Social Studies, and Economics departments, not to mention Moral and Religious Education. Fragmentation of this order would be unlikely to produce enlightenment.

Media study is undoubtedly a multidisciplinary concept, at least in terms of the disciplines currently taught in secondary schools. In many cases, however, efforts to develop courses on a multi- or interdisciplinary basis have run into both organisational and pedagogical difficulties. Simply dividing up a "course" among departments (e.g. term 1, Press studies with the English department; term 2, Photography with the Art department; term 3, Media Institutions with the Social Studies department) is not conducive to a coherent grasp of those key concepts that straddle and illuminate the mass media as a whole.

Interdisciplinary team work may achieve a tighter structure, but even here there are logistical problems in creating time for the team to plan together and in ensuring that each team member knows what the others are doing.

In many ways, the most effective media courses have been those taught by a single specialist. The danger here is that the rest of the school staff may be only too happy to allow the specialist to shoulder the whole responsibility, with the result that media education occupies only a small space in the timetable for a handful of students and there is no sense in which the study permeates the curriculum.

After its initial period of rapid growth, media education now needs to move towards the formulation of "whole school policies", to achieve a logical progression through the primary and secondary years and to ensure that, by the statutory school leaving age, every student will have received at least a basic grounding in this field of study. In Scotland, a development project, aimed at evolving and evaluating such policies, has been set up in a number of linked primary and secondary schools, and an account of the project's findings should be available in 1989. But the search for a policy takes us back to the kind of fundamental questions posed above. Media education presents several unresolved paradoxes. While curriculum planners query whether there is "enough in it" to justify its existence as a separate specialism, media teachers are bewildered by the range and complexity of the sources on which the study has drawn. As Berger (1982) has pointed out, the analysis of media texts can be carried out within a diversity of theoretical frameworks, i.e., semiological, psychoanalytical, sociological, and Marxist. Teachers have to decide what is feasible, appropriate, and

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valuable to teach at any given stage. There is also a paradox implicit in reconciling the intellectual rigour demanded by Masterman (1985) and Ferguson (1981) with the perceptive enjoyment which very young children can display in discussing and creating narratives in audiovisual form. How should the study "unfold" from early primary to later secondary years? Is there, for instance, an optimal hierarchical order for the teaching of key concepts, or is it better to adopt a "spiral" approach, revisiting the same concepts at increasing levels of sophistication? Is it possible to define - and test - a body of knowledge, understanding, and skill which students should acquire at successive stages of maturity? Is it too simplistic to suggest that there should be a progressive shift of emphasis from practical to critical work as we move from younger to older students? And should media study be considered as a meaningful way into broader understandings of social relationships, or must we establish the broader understandings as a prerequisite to media analysis? To take a home-grown example: can Scottish students usefully discuss issues of representation, stereotyping, and bias in film and video images of Scotland, without having first acquired an informed awareness of the realities of Scottish social life on which media constructions are based?

Methodology

Clearly, the questions of what is of value to teach and what is the appropriate context for teaching relate to and influence any consideration of *how* media learning should be conducted and encouraged. Hartley et al. (1985) have affirmed that

> "Media Studies has no distinctive method of study and no agreed agenda or set of issues. It is characterised by its diversity."

Not all experts would accept this open-ended philosophy. Many would insist on the need for an inductive approach, drawing on the students' own experience of the media and working from the particular to the general, from an activity-based understanding of process to an analysis of products. Others would object that personal experience is too limited to serve as a basis for grasping concepts such as interpellation, ideology, and hegemony, and that it is therefore necessary, in the words of Alvarado,

> "to construct a pedagogy that precisely does *not* depend upon personal experience and in certain ways critiques it". (1981, p. 63)

The problem is compounded by the evidence of research that students of varying personalities learn best in different ways.

Regrettably, classroom teachers have little time to reflect upon such issues. In many cases they are committing themselves to media studies courses as an *addition* to a full teaching load in their parent specialism and their planning can be limited to *ad hoc* lesson-to-lesson decision making. Under these conditions, it is tempting to fall back, methodologically speaking, on "the way we've always taught" and to concentrate on the teaching of content rather than on the achievement of learning objectives. There are signs that certain approaches are becoming established, not because of their proven effectiveness and educational value, but as a result of an acceptance that "this is what you do in Media Studies". For example, a popular exercise consists of the quantitative analysis and comparison of the length and ordering of items in news bulletins broadcast on the same day by different TV or radio channels. Students can be kept busily occupied in small groups with notebooks and stopwatches; and, at a superficial level, the exercise can be said to produce "results". Yet it could be argued that the work is more time-consuming than profitable if students remain stuck at the halfway stage of analysis, without going to investigate the reasons for inter-channel differences in selection and priority, the implied assumptions about what constitutes "news", about audience tastes, and about the functions of "news" as narrative and entertainment. Some teachers, indeed, attempt to work at this level but others declare that "There isn't time" or that "My students wouldn't be capable of that kind of analysis". So what is the point of the journey, if it is brought to a halt halfway along the road to significance? The same uncertainty can obtain in relation to studies of soap opera - again, a popular choice, because "The children watch a lot of it at home". Analysis of narrative structure (a favoured tactic) can serve to confirm what the students probably know already, namely that each episode is composed of a great many scenes and that the various themes are intertwined in a neverending story line. The knowledge in itself would appear to have little educational value. An adequate pedagogy of media studies demands not merely that we "teach soap opera" but that we know why and how we should be teaching soap opera and for whom that teaching is worthwhile.

A MUTUAL CHALLENGE

A Summation

The problem we have been describing can be summed up as an uncertainty over objectives. Media teachers are still feeling their way towards the kind of objectives - process or product, experiential or behavioural - that are relevant and valuable, and there is attendant uncertainty about techniques of assessment. Teachers are uncomfortably aware that written responses (the standard form of assessment) may not be the most appropriate way of measuring understanding of audiovisual texts, but alternatives are hard to find.

A methodological problem typical of, though not peculiar to, media studies is that of integrating practice and theory. In principle, the two should reinforce each other. As Dick expresses it,

> "An aim of Media Studies is to close the gap between analysis and practice, between criticism and doing. Only those who have engaged practice are in the 'correct' position to criticise; practice without critical awareness is blind, 'commonsensical', and sterile." (1987, p.5)

Observation suggests, however, that 'practical work',i.e., the making of media artefacts, tends to be placed in a relatively watertight compartment, organisationally by the teacher and psychologically by the students. The situation, to be sure, can sometimes be forced on the teacher. If a video camera is available to a television course for one week only, on loan from the local resources centre, the priority is seen as giving hands-on experience to all and there is little time left for experiment, discussion, and reflection. A video camera should be regarded as an essential piece of equipment for media teachers, available whenever needed, like a balance in a chemistry laboratory, but the purse-string holders in British education have yet to recognise the fact. On the whole, the best equipped courses are those which adopt a "workshop" approach. In these circumstances, the teacher (probably a practical enthousiast) can be tempted to hope that practical experience will automatically lead the students to an understanding of professional practice and a grasp of underlying concepts such as connotation, construction, and representation. The hope is often illusory. Experience has shown that the vast majority of students need a helping hand to jump the gap between practice and analysis.

Perhaps the most critical methodological problem for media teachers is the achievement of what Masterman has called "non-hierarchical teaching approaches". Effective media study demands a balance of relationships new to both teachers and taught.

Teachers are faced with a situation in which, at a superficial level, their students may know more about the objects of study than they do themselves. Teachers wish to raise the quality of critical reaction beyond spontaneous comments like "smashing" or "rubbish", while at the same time refraining from imposing their own views. For their part, the students are unused to being confronted with texts selected not because they are "good" but because they are "popular". They are unsure of how they are expected to respond to them. The rules of the game have changed for both parties, producing a mutual sense of insecurity, at least initially.

Finally, there is methodological uncertainty concerning the best means and the right time for introducing the key concepts which support the theoretical framework of media studies. A good deal of media teaching is conducted with student groups which, in Piagetian terms, have not yet reached the stage of "formal operations" which would enable them to generalise and abstract. Some teachers argue that concept teaching with students at this level is a waste of time. Others believe - and have demonstrated in their own teaching - that immature minds can achieve a basic grasp of quite subtle concepts, provided that the approach is made through personal experience and experiment. To this end, practical work, of an unambitious but meaningful kind, can provide students with the opportunity to encounter, at first hand, issues of construction and selection, representation and bias. Provided that the teacher forces the links, the words may be forgotten but the experience is likely to be remembered and its significance understood.

Conclusions

The future for media education in Britain is exciting but uncertain. On the positive side, the growth of activity and enthusiasm over the past ten years has been remarkably rapid. After an initial period of haphazard initiatives, there is evidence that the media education movement is getting its act together and, at a regional and national level, working to resolve the conceptual and pedagogical issues which we have outlined in this article. A handful of British universities are producing graduate specialists in media studies, and courses of professional training, at pre- and in-service levels, are becoming increasingly available. More negatively, the present government-inspired climate of educational opinion would appear to be inimical to critically oriented upstarts which in

Masterman's words are "honourably subversive of established authority" (1985:28). There is a risk that the "technicist trap" will open for media studies and that only those courses that claim to be "practical" and "vocationally slanted" will receive recognition from on high. The Society for Education in Film and Television (SEFT) has recently expressed its concern that, if the government's proposals for a National Curriculum are implemented,

> "they would result in the disappearance of [Media Studies] from the curriculum, or in its unsatisfactory fragmentation and dilution if it is only taught as part of foundation subjects" (1988:22).

Media education is indeed caught in a tension between a short-term need to secure recognition within the established curriculum and a longer-term desire to challenge the fragmented nature of that curriculum, to break down the barriers that isolate words and images, the "audio" and the "visual", within separate subject departments. At the senior stage of secondary schooling and in tertiary education, media study may well emerge as a discipline in its own right; but for younger students, our belief is that the media should be studied within a broader context of social understanding, a growing awareness relating to "This is the kind of world we live in, these are the forces that make it tick, this is how we fit into it, how we can contribute to it and perhaps challenge it". The pedagogical problem is how to hold the elements of such a broad field of study together. Media education may well have an integrative role to play, in drawing together the strands of communication and culture, semiology and sociology. The implications of such reorientations for curriculum planners may seem daunting, but a future generation of students may well take for granted the fact that learning and living are no longer being kept apart.

NOTE

1 Information about the project "Media Education in Scotland; a study of curriculum, school policy and management" may be obtained from:
Eddy DICK
Media Education Development Officer
Scottish Film Council
Dowanhill
74 Victoria Crescent Road
Glasgow G12 9JN

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Hartley J., H. Goulden and T. O'Sullivan (1985), *Making Sense of the Media*, London: Comedia.
Masterman L. (1985) *Teaching the Media*, London: Comedia. SEFT.

Note: SEFT stands for: Society for Education in Film and Television. It publishes *Media Education INITIATIVES* three times a year as a bulletin for teaching. Its address:
SEFT 29, Old Compton Street
London WW 5 PL

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THE MEDIA: SERVANT OR MASTER?

by Rex Andrews

"Through a glass darkly"

Why should precious school time be given from an already overcrowded curriculum to studying the media? Amidst cries for accountability, vocational training, "going back to basics", and government juggling to establish a core curriculum, this is the first question that has to be answered by would-be teachers of media studies. Good reasons are not far to seek.

In the first place some understanding of the dominant medium of the late twentieth century would seem to be indispensable. Children in the United Kingdom spend about twenty-one hours a week watching television -- more time than they spend in the classroom, and they are only in school some 200 days a year. In the second place television is not the transparent "window on the world" we may once have thought it to be. With television we see the world "as through a glass darkly", constructed for us by a complex process of mediation. This is true of all the mass media.

Words and images entice and assault us daily, preeminently from television, but also from newspapers, radio, advertisements, magazines and films, and films reach us nowadays more through the television than via the cinema. If we suffer from media illiteracy we are at the mercy of these powerful influences. Our worlds are created for us and our capacity to control our situation is diminished. If, on the other hand, we have some understanding of the media -- how words and images function, and the variety of ways they can interact -- then we can make good *use* of the media in building up our own worlds over which we have some measure of control. Verbal and visual symbols are slippery creatures, but there are techniques for handling them -- using, understanding, interpreting, and evaluating them -- and these can to some extent be taught to pupils and students.

Responsible citizenship depends upon a degree of self-knowledge and some understanding of the relation of the individual to society. A healthy democratic society needs a two-way relationship between the state and the individuals composing it. Totalitarianism thrives on the control of citizens through the mass media. Media styles vary from state to state and where governmental or big business control is strong, "Big Brother" seeks to persuade the populace that "everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds". In the West laissez-faire consumerism is vaunted as the ideal, with constant titillation of our appetite for possessions and an emphasis on competitive, materialistic values. In the East until recently, and in fascist states, the machinery of government is presented as impeccable, and the population is urged to accept economies and ultra-conformist behaviour in return for the benefits of cooperative security.

In an effort to maintain a measure of media independence from state control the BBC was set up in 1927 as a public *corporation* "to inform, to educate, and to entertain". Subsequent charters have modified details of the BBC's organization but confirmed it as the main instrument of broadcasting in the United Kingdom. Another public board, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), was set up in 1973 as an official instrument of consumer protection to examine all television and local sound broadcasting advertisements to ensure that they are "legal, decent, honest, and truthful" before they are accepted for broadcasting. The success of these public bodies in achieving their aims is, of course, relative and debatable, given the complexity of the institutions and powers whose wares and messages they mediate. However, both the BBC and the IBA are highly sensitive to public opinion and criticism. It is this critical awareness on the part of the public that appropriate media education can promote and support. Early media education tended to adopt a hostile attitude to mass culture, and sought to "inoculate" children against the media's ill effects. It is now more commonly recognized that children do not "absorb all television material indiscriminately and uncritically" (Scarborough, 1975). A recent study of children's response (across the entire school age range from 7 to 18) to the highly popular British television series "EastEnders" showed that

> "These children were not the "dupes" of television, passively absorbing its influence; nor did they confuse *EastEnders* with reality, or simply accept it at face value. On the contrary, they often displayed a considerable degree of critical distance from the programme. While they were prepared to grant it a degree of credibility in certain areas, in others they were quite dismissive of its partiality and implausibility" (Buckingham 1987:18).

Perhaps it is not out of place to mention further factors favouring the study of mass media in school: it is *enjoyable* and pupils and students respond positively to it. These might not in themselves be sufficient reasons for giving time to it, but given the low level of motivation sometimes prevailing in secondary schools, it is useful to find something that stimulates interest because of its obvious relevance to their everyday lives.

"The nature of the beast"

What, then, should we include under the heading "mass media"? What are the elements within the subject area once defined that need to be considered in school? With some minor variations there is general agreement that the five principal mass media are newspapers, radio, film, television, and advertizing. Combining the elements of sight and sound, film and television are perhaps the most challenging. Newspapers and other printed media offer a complex relationship between words and still images. Radio makes the greatest demands on the imagination. Advertizing tends to permeate all other media. It is problably impossible to study any one of these media satisfactorily without some reference to the others, if only to make necessary comparisons and contrasts. Certain features of the media may be more readily studied in their relatively isolated forms, i.e., radio for sound and newspapers for visual aspects, before tackling their more complex relationships in film and television.

There has been a tendency in recent years to separate out film studies as an independent art form with a critical approach comparable to literary studies. In view of the relative demise of the cinema as an institution and the unique nature of individual films this is neither surprising nor inconvenient. The tendency is to adopt a historical, combined with an aesthetic and sociocultural critical approach to film. Television, all pervading, includes films -- traditional films along with those specially created for television. In schools and colleges television studies, although dealing with the more complex phenomenon, offers technical advantages in terms of video recordings, easily manipulated cassettes, and daylight presentation. Although it lacks something of the impact of the "big screen", the "box" still manages to compel the attention of viewers. The challenge for teachers is to convert its hypnotic effect to a deeper response of criticism and appreciation.

Prior to the study of *genres* in the secondary school, it is to be hoped that at primary (elementary) school level children will have learned to differentiate between fact, fiction, and opinion. These distinctions are not, of course, as simple as they may seem. The question, "What is truth?", is by no means a new one, but since the writings of Roland Barthes and other structuralists, the quest has been deepened by somewhat esoteric cultural, social, and political analysis. However, there is a commonsense level at which fact, fiction, and opinion can be distinguished, and this should begin in the primary school. At the secondary stage some of the complexities and problems can be examined for the oversimplified equation of news with fact, documentary with fact-plus-opinion, and drama with fiction, and other genres such as "features", advertisements, television games and quizzes, editorials, etc., can be examined for their overt and hidden meanings. At a certain level it can be said that fictions tend to try to make a kind of holistic sense of the dilemmas they present, whereas brute facts are often obstinately irresolvable. Stuart Hall (1980:7) makes the useful point that "News programmes are narratives, not just explanations, and ficions are explanations, not just narratives."

The fact that news and editorial material are *constructed* in complex institutions and organizations for given audiences makes it necessary to understand something about the frameworks of reference within which the material is presented. The relation between the world "on the box" and the world "out there" is in many ways a very haphazard and arbitrary one, the combined product of planning, accident, and selection. The purposes of promoters and producers must be taken into account. The interests, chances, and caprices of journalists and news-gatherers, and the sensitivity or nonsensitivity of these and other agencies to public opinion and criticism may also play a part. It is not necessary to adopt a "theory of conspiracy" nor is it necessary to assume that television is "the new opium of the people" and the means by which the powerful systematically exploit a gullible public. The situation between control, financing, emission, and audience is not as clear-cut as that. "He who pays the piper" certainly has a great deal of influence, but he cannot always directly "call the tune".

This raises some of the issues that properly belong within the sphere of mass media education. One obviously is the issue of censorship versus freedom of the media. Censorship springs from the need, real or assumed, to protect the public, the producer, or a third party apparently threatened by an allusion or a relevation. Good taste, morality, and religion are offered as justifications for cuts in the immediate interests of the public. Reasons of state and security might be claimed to justify government censorship. Sometimes shere expediency may induce producers to avoid what might give offence and thus lose public support and revenue. Censorship can be official, exercised through such laws as the Official Secrets Act and Post Office Act of 1953, or "self-regulated" by, for example, the British Board of Film Censors or the Independent Television Authority. Under the Television Act of 1964 the ITA must be satisfied that "nothing is included in the programmes which offends against good taste or decency or is likely to encourage or incite to crime or to lead to disorder or to be offensive to public feeling" (Findlater 1970:13). Most television companies, however, veto there scripts and play synopses *before* they run the risk of being challenged by the ITA. State secrets in the United Kingdom are largely protected by a system of "D-Notices" inhibiting editors from publishing news on sensitive issues. Concentrated government control through legislation is currently putting more pressure on the news media. Obviously, irresponsibility in the media can be both offensive and dangerous to the community or to groups or individuals, but it is less obvious who should exercise the responsibilities involved. Self-regulation of the media based on a liberal code of practice would seem preferable to either anarchy or external censorship. The issue is clearly one that warrants healthy debate among school students.

Another issue related to that of censorship is the presentation of sex and violence on television and its influence on the community. Does violence have a cathartic effect on viewers, or does it lead to imitation? Does the presentation of sex as such promote or inhibit sensitive human relations in this area? Again, there are no simple answers. Probably no serious educationist would favour the corrupt excesses of "video nasties" or wish to see them replicated in the mass media. Similarly, gratuitous violence in film and television would seem to benefit nobody. However, there must be a point at which some representation of sex and violence as they exist in the "real world" is valid *and* healthy. As regards to the news, it would seem that *overexposure* to scenes of violence and brutality tends to anaesthetize viewers. Rather than activating public opinion against such horror, *overexposure* tends to force the viewer into creating a self-protective complacency. At the other end of the spectrum, *underrating* the degree of violence in important national and international news events leads to the same complacent disregard for suffering in the world beyond our livingrooms. Fictional violence, in drama, would seem to provide a safe cathartic outlet for some of our aggressive impulses. Excessive indulgence in this area is to be condemned. The constant presentation of the strong-armed hero's successes seems to provide an unsatisfactory model for imitation.

Stereotyping, particularly in terms of race and gender, is another area deserving consideration in media studies. A study pack, *Selling Pictures*, issued by the Education Department of the British Film Institute (see Bazalgette) is based on the premise that

> "Stereotyping develops around the issue of power. Groups hold stereotypes of other groups with whom there is an actual or possible, struggle about dominance and subordination".

By encouraging certain stereotypes of, for instance, women, blacks, Irish persons, or gays, dominant groups can promote the impression that such groups "deserve" their lower status. In its provision of material for countering such generalizations the study pack demonstrates the point that stereotypes depend upon citing the changes *within* the generalization as much as upon the generalizations themselves. Each example of misrepresentations, in other words, is different in some ways from other examples, yet subtly reinforces the commonly held stereotype. This insidious process of constructing and maintaining limiting definitions of certain social groups is a difficult and important task to tackle in the classroom.

To sum up "the nature of the beast", we are concerned here primarily with newspapers, radio, film, television and (the ubiquitous) advertizing as the main manifestations of the media. All five present us with facts, fictions, and opinions in various guises and combinations as "news", documentaries, drama, features, games, and quizzes, etc. Each item (article, programme, etc.) is constructed by a production team ostensibly for the sake of an amorphous or specific public, but also to meet the demands made upon them by the promoters whose capital is invested in the products for particular and probably less than philanthrophic reasons. Subject to editorial whim or commercial or governmental pressure or censorship, the media cannot be relied upon to give a true representation of the "real world" free from bias or stereotyping. At their best, however, the media can have a valuable role to play as purveyors of information, education, and entertainment.

Learning and "doing" the media

The question of *how* to tackle the media in schools is, of course, an ongoing one. Three major aspects can be considered: 1.

promoting *understanding*; 2. *creative work*; and, 3. *using* the media as part of normal educational practice. These will be considered briefly in turn. In practice they are more likely to progress concurrently:

1. To *understand* the way newspapers, advertisements, films and television communicate their diverse meanings, it is necessary for students to learn that words and images are *not the same* as the things or ideas, etc., to which they refer. What they refer to or "denote" is the "referent", but the words or images may also have other associations which they "connote". The ideas of "denotation", "connotation" and "referent" are, therefore, important concepts to have in order to understand the slant of a newspaper article, editiorial, or advertisement. The students need not necessarily use these terms but they require some inkling of their meaning. "Purr words" and "snarl words" are expressions easily understood, and a useful classroom activity for teenagers and upwards is to analyse a newspaper article for examples of these. This task is made easier if they have first learnt to "conjugate" sequences such as "I am petite, you are small, she is tiny", "I am slender, you are thin, she is skinny", "I am cautious, you are careful, he is cowardly", etc., recognizing that while the basic idea remains the same in each case, the "purr words" and "snarl words" put very different connotations on these ideas. Access to a thesaurus can be useful here. It is also helpful to have a collection of different newspapers published the same day, so that the prejudices and viewpoints of editors show up clearly in the words they choose -- "teenager" for one might be "hooligan" for another, "youth" for another, and so on.

This is the beginning of semiological analysis. Semiology is essentially the study of symptoms, and a symptom is a characteristic sign or indication of the existence of a state. Just as an illness can be recognized by a sign or cluster of signs, an emotion or mood can be conveyed to a reader or viewer by the choice and placing of words and images. Whereas the doctor's concern with symptoms is in the *cognitive* domain, involving the deduction of facts, the aesthetic and persuasive role of signs in the media is largely in the *affective* domain, designed to promote the response of particular emotions.

In the British Film Institute Education Deparment's study pack *Reading Pictures* (1980) a number of illustrations are assembled to help students examine how meaning is produced in photographic images. "The general aim of the pack is to explore, in order to undermine, the commonsense view of images as transparent purveyors of meaning which can be understood at a glance". The illustrations are chosen to show how selection and juxtaposition and angling of images in advertisements, etc., can influence the viewers' emotions. "Terms such as *signifier/signified*, *polysemy*, *anchorage*, *denotation*, and *connotation* are introduced in the teachers' notes to facilitate further reading in the area should teachers wish to undertake it". Other terms that aid the teacher's understanding and may also need to be handled by students include: *narrative*, *context*, and *viewpoint*; *realism*, *escapism*, and *fantasy*; *role*, *actor*, *producer*, *director*, and *editor*. The concepts of "deconstruction" and "demythologizing" are more likely to be absorbed through critical activity in the secondary school than taught by definition.

To aid student understanding of the media, teachers employ handouts (synopses, facts and critiques, etc.), slides, and "mise-en-scene" extracts, as well as cuttings, sound casettes, videos and films. In relation to all of these the skills of description, interpretation, appreciation, and criticism can be developed. In addition to the questions asked by the Advertising Standards Authority regarding legality, honesty, truthfulness, and decency, the students' evaluations can involve other questions such as, "Is it effective?", "How is it achieved?", and "For whose benefit is it?"

2. *Creative work* on the media can begin with writing angled copy. Using the skills discussed in the previous section students can be asked to rewrite "neutral" material with a "prejorative" or "glamorized" slant. Alternatively, a typical example of slanted journalism can be taken, and rewritten first as neutral "fact" and then with the opposite slant to the original. Another idea, embodied in the ILEA (Inner London Education Authority) pack, called *Choosing the news* requires a mass media class to divide into groups which then select items and headings from a range of possibilities offered to create their own newspaper. This simulation of what happens in the real world of news gathering and presentation puts the groups of students in the position of sub-editors and designers working for radical and conservative managements, respectively. The importance of the relation of pictures to text and headings is clearly demonstrated when the final different versions of the day's news emerge from different groups. Obviously news broadcasts for radio or television can be simulated by somewhat similar exercises.

Practical work in film and videomaking is carried out in a good many schools. On the whole, video is cheaper and easier to handle. Relating single images in a storyboard sequence to which dialogue is subsequently added can lead on to slide-tape productions and hence to short films or videos. The vocabulary of creative film and television is readily acquired through practice: *frame, cut, pan, zoom, dissolve, de-focus, fade, long shot, medium shot, close-up*, etc. Experimental storytelling will clearly want to make use of these techniques for various purposes. The students' appreciation of good film or television viewed subsequently should be considerably enhanced.

Before leaving the subject of the vocabulary involved in media studies it is worth mentioning that many teachers find that their students can manage very well without the formal terminology and definitions which can be brought to the subject. There is no space here to quote examples from children's critiques, but their quality is often much better than might be expected and may even be an improvement on what could otherwise be somewhat stilted formal expositions. As one teacher puts it, "...our worries about the technical vocabulary that might be required in writing about film were unfounded. Throughout the course the pupils developed their own methods of referring to pictures and sounds quite effortlessly" (Gregory 1987:66). The pupils often showed a high degree of sensitivity in referring to colour, mood, and atmosphere. Another teacher describes how a semiotic approach can be achieved even when students are encouraged "to disentangle and articulate their own responses in everyday language" (British Film Institute: 1980).

3. *The use of audio-visual media* is well established in education. Films and videos are frequently used to stimulate and direct interest across the whole range of the curriculum. The BBC and the independent television companies have made a valuable contribution to this important learning adjunct. It would be unwise here to attempt to indicate the range and achievement of these materials. Many of them have been made available in cassette form after transmission and all are accompanied with teachers' notes and, frequently, with material for students' use. There is a significant difference between educational broadcasting in the USA and the UK -- while American audiovisual aids tend to be conceived in terms of "instruction" those in the UK are more often devised as "stimuli" or "catalysts" for learning. In other words, while the American material might seek to make a number of points which could subsequently be tested, the British material usually leaves most of the teaching and learning to the class after the emission, its main function having been achieved by sowing seeds and suggestions for further exploration. This is

particularly true of material for use by English teachers and for project work (Motlershead 1985).

The state of play

It is difficult to consider the current state of mass media education in the UK without considering the current state of the mass media themselves. In both cases the situation is extremely volatile. The comparative four-channel stability of British television is due for a major shake-up with the coming of cable and satellite television. A guaranteed level of public service broadcasting with two noncommercial channels and two commercial channels is under threat from commercial interests heavily supported by a market-forces oriented government. At present the channels' schedules are vetted by the IBA to ensure a reasonable balance of public service transmission. There are likely to be at least nine commercial television channels lined up by the time British Satellite Broadcasting's 220 million pound satellite is launched in the run-up to Christmas 1989, and cable television will probably be channelling newly released films alongside regular channels in the near future. The BBC depends heavily on some 15 million licenses sold annually and government suggestions that a subscription system could be made to replace this have been aired. The avoidance of too much dependence on commercial marketing has hitherto been a factor in the relatively high standards maintained by British radio and television, but in the future these standards may be difficult to maintain.

Already, like other concerns, television companies have had to cope with extra financial stringencies in recent years. It may be simply a personal opinion, but it seems to me that some resultant reduction in quality broadcasting has begun. There is no current epic series such as *War and Peace* or *Jewel in the Crown*, and the classic comedy series such as *Porridge* and *Fawlty Towers* are being followed by a good deal of inferior material. Fortunately, a tradition of satire has not been completely jettisoned: *Yes, Prime Minister* on television and *Week Ending* on radio both achieve a keen political edge. There is no evidence that commercial competition improves national television networks elsewhere. This seems to be an area where "more" can certainly not be guaranteed to be "better". From another angle, the question of government constraints on the freedom of information has already been raised as having a detrimental effect on the news and broadcasting media in the United Kingdom.

SERVANT OR MASTER

It is against this background of uncertainty in the mass media that media education must be considered. Here again uncertainties and changes prevail. The increasing concern of government to centralise control of education and to establish a "core curriculum" have undermined the traditional autonomy of British education. In the interim, while curricula are under review, teachers tend to be more cautious and less innovative than in more liberal times. At the same time the examination structure has undergone a fundamental change, bringing together the CSE (Certificate of Secondary Education) and the GCE (General Certificate of Education) 'O' Level examinations into one GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) examination, a factor which inevitably affects a number of syllabuses devised for media studies in both of the former exams.

At least three major government reports on education in the past (Newsom in 1963, Plowden in 1966, and Bullock in 1975) have been very favourably disposed to media education. It is not at all certain whether future reports will be so enthusiastic. Because of its critical stance, study of the mass media can be considered somewhat subversive by those who forget that democracy requires constant vigilance on the part of its citizens. Computer studies are currently the technology most highly favoured because of their economic and commercial applications. Computers are obedient servants that do not ask awkward questions.

Nevertheless, media studies are still alive and kicking. There is not space here to set out in full any of the schemes for meeting the new situation, but two positive programmes can be indicated. The one is a draft proposal for a "Media Studies" course for the new GCSE, and the other is an outline for media studies across the curriculum.

The aims of the GCSE "Media studies" course are

> "to develop understanding of the media through the analysis of media output, the processes of media production and circulation, and the patterns of organisation and regulation" (Motlershead 1985).

The assessment objectives require students to reach by the end of their five-term course some understanding of:

1. the main forms and conventions used in the media.
2. the ways in which individuals, social groups, and events may be represented within the media or denied representation.
3. the main features of the organisation of the production and circulation of media products and messages and awareness of the ways in which different media may be

financed and controlled and the possible consequences of this for such production and circulation.

4. the ways in which audiences relate to the media together with some awareness of theories claiming to explain the possible effect of the media, and
5. candidates will also be expected to have some experience of practical work with different media forms, whether through activities or through production or both, in order to further their understanding of the processes of production involved.

Key concepts to be developed throughout the course are: 1. forms and conventions, 2. representation, 3. media institutions, and 4. audience. Students are required to show evidence of work with at least two media, one of which must be either film or television.

In regard to the other programme mentioned, reference must be made to a policy document, "Media Education across the Curriculum" (Graham 1985:31-35). This document was prepared for a North London secondary school by the coordinator of the school's Media Education Working Party. The significant thing about the document is that it is designed to introduce *every* student in the school to a number of the issues raised in this paper, to familiarize them with relevant vocabulary, and to provide opportunities for both theoretical understanding and practical application of the concepts involved. That its aim is to provide a balanced viewpoint on the media is evidenced by the following quotation:

> "The media are essential resources in the development of language, communication, and social skills in the home, the school, and the wider community - but resources with underlying cultural and ideological values which must be interpreted, questioned, and evaluated in every context"[sic].

Thus, appreciation of the *value* of the mass media is recognized alongside the need for maintaining vigorous critical alertness. If such an approach could be maintained across the curricula of a substantial number of schools, it would augur well for the future.

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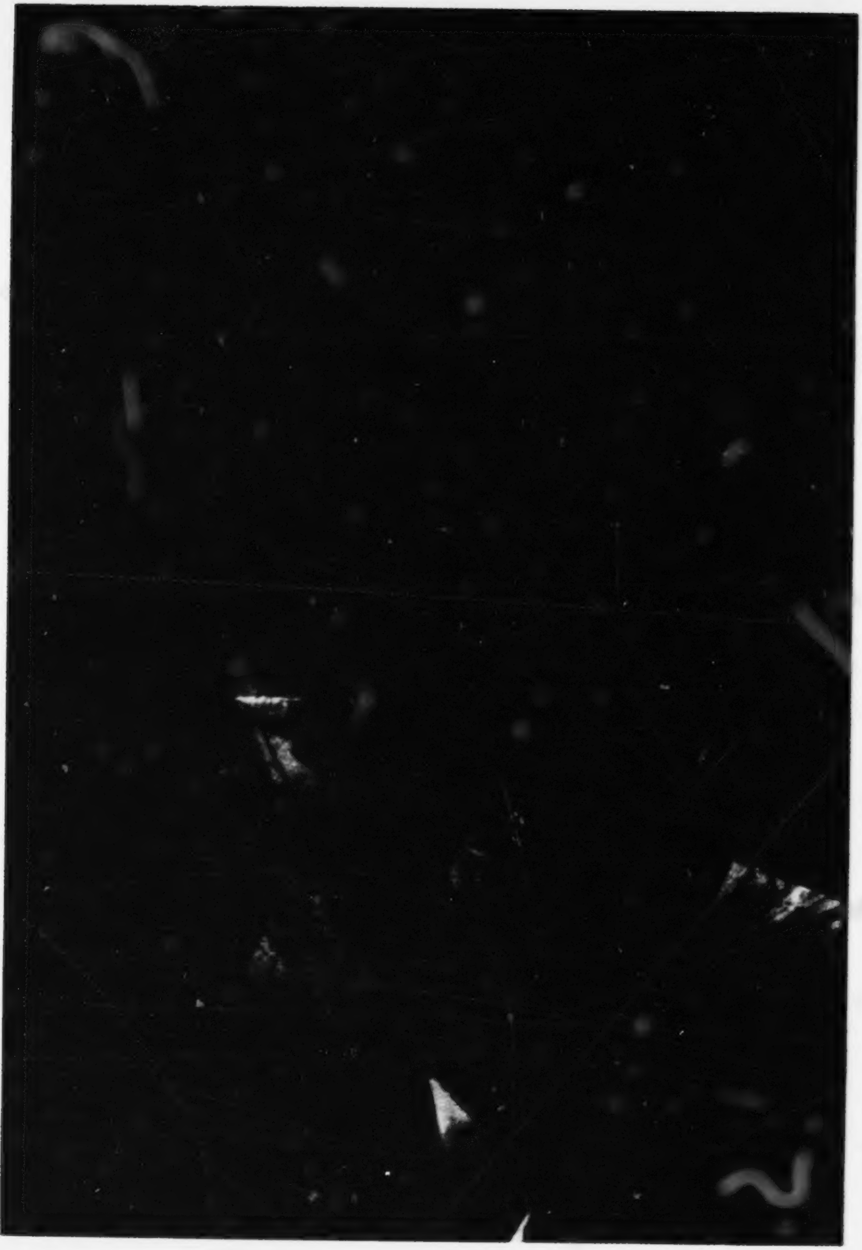

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIA EDUCATION IN EUROPE IN THE 1980s

by

Len Masterman

This article attempts to chart some of the principal changes and developments which have taken place in the theory and practice of media education in Europe during the 1980s. It is not an account of *specific* national or institutional practices, but an attempt to clarify the main *general* lines of development evident in an extensive programme of European conferences on the mass media and education organised by The Council of Europe and UNESCO since 1980. Whilst the focus of this article is upon European development, many of the trends outlined here are also discernible in much recent work in Australia and Canada.

Why Media Education? From Protection to Empowerment

Rationales for media education have changed perceptibly over the past decade. Up to the early 1980s a good deal of media teaching was still largely *paternalistic* and *protectionist*. It had its origins in a deep-seated district of the media themselves as agents of culture decline.

The earliest answer to the question "Why study the media?" was "In order to protect both our children and the continuity of our cultural values from the worst excesses of the media". There were two principal variations on this kind of approach to media education. Some argued that the development of discrimination, fine judgement, and taste depended upon pupils grasping the basic differences between the timeless values of authentic culture as embodied in the traditional arts (in which teachers were themselves initiated) and the essentially anti-cultural values of a largely commercial mass media. Others were more sympathetic to the media. They argued that the popular media (and especially the cinema) were themselves capable of producing authentic works of art, and that the function of media education should be to encourage pupils to discriminate not *against* the media, but *within* them; to appreciate, that is, the lively, the imaginative and the authentic within popular culture, and to reject the crassly manipulative and third-rate.

However, by the early 1980s there was a discernible and radical movement away from "discrimination" and "appreciation" as the key objectives of media education towards much more *investigative* approaches to *understanding* the media. This development broke with two time-honoured educational traditions. First of all it pushed the whole question of aesthetic and moral values - the whole question of precisely how good or how bad a film or television programme was - away from the centrally dominant position it had always held within the media education. And secondly it severely undermined the hierarchical role of the teacher as the accredited expert and purveyor of approved knowledge within the classroom. The teacher was no longer the arbiter of taste, but a partner or co-investigator in what was now a much more open-ended process.

The movement from appreciation to understanding, heralded a new agenda for media education away from narrowly aesthetic questions towards more ideological ones: How and in whose interests do the media operate? How are they organised? How do they produce meaning? What precisely is their ideological effectivity? How do they represent "reality"? The development of a *critically informed intelligence* in relation to the media now became the key objective rather than the nurturing of a finely-honed aesthetic judgement.

Finally, in the past two or three years, that notion of developing an informed understanding of the media has itself undergone a further evolution. It is now clear that successful media education involves an *empowerment* of learners essential to the creation and sustaining of an active democracy and of a public which is not easily manipulable but whose opinion *counts* on media issues because it is critically informed and capable of making its own independent judgements. At a time when the management and manufacture of information by governments and vested interest groups has grown apace it is the *liberating* potentiallities of media education which perhaps now provide its chief rationale.

This movement from a *protectionist* through an *investigative* to an *empowerment* rationale for media education has been accompanied by important transformations in the concept of media education itself.

MEDIA EDUCATION IN EUROPE

The Concept of Media Education: From School Subject to Holistic Process

In the early 1980s perhaps the most significant question facing media educators was "Is it possible to teach about the media in a coherent and disciplined way?" This remains an important question, but in 1988 the terms of the major debates have moved on. Today it is important to see formal educational work on the media as part of a much more comprehensive and holistic process - a process which in its turn has a profound influence on the aims and objectives of work in schools and colleges. What are the principal contours of a *holistic* or *ecological* approach to media education?

First of all it is emphatically a *lifelong process*. Interest in and attachment to the media begins, for most children, well before they attend school and continues throughout their adult lives. A media education which fails to recognise the implications of this will fall short of its fullest potentiality. High student motivation, for example, must now become rather more than a desirable spin-off from effective teaching. It must become a primary objective. If media education is not an enjoyable and fulfilling, as well as instructive experience, then pupils will have no encouragement to continue learning about the media after they have passed beyond the gates of school.

Further, media education should ideally be a *partnership* between all of those agencies and individuals with a legitimate interest in the field. Whether the media teacher likes it or not, media education is not simply the province of the school.

At its best it has become a partnership between media teachers and:

1. *Journalists and broadcasters*: At a national level many broadcasting institutions have produced series on the media in cooperation with teachers. More locally, journalists and broadcasters frequently contribute their expertise to media education courses in schools and colleges. At its best media education has become an *inter-professional* activity.
2. *Parents*: Not only have media teachers specifically aimed to explain the objectives of their work to parents, and to co-opt their support, they have also attempted to set new agendas for parental thinking, by moving them beyond their traditional concerns with the effects of televised sex and violence to consider the importance of media literacy for active democratic citizenship.
3. *Researchers*: The traditional distinction between teachers

> and researchers is beginning to break down within media education. This is because media education needs to keep in touch with the constantly shifting media tastes of pupils and students. Frequent small-scale "micro" research of the kind which teachers themselves can easily carry out therefore tends to be of greater value and applicability than the kind of longer-term research with which educational researchers are generally more familiar. The importance of teachers and researchers working collaboratively, and the growing convergence of their roles is now widely acknowledged by media teachers who wish to base their teaching upon the life-situations of their students.

Finally seeing media education as being *inevitably* a lifelong process has changed classroom objectives in fundamental ways. Media education has become an education for the future as well as the present. The whole *point* about media education is that it should develop in children enough self-confidence and critical maturity for them to be able and willing to apply critical judgements to TV programmes and newspaper articles which they will encounter *in the future.* The acid test of the success of any media education programme lies in the extent to which pupils are critical in their own use and understanding of the media *when the teacher is not there.* The primary objective of lifelong media education is not simply critical awareness and understanding but *critical autonomy.*

The importance of this objective has profound implications for course content, teaching methodology, and methods of evaluation as we shall see. It means that it is essential to teach for transfer. That is, it is always going to be necessary for teachers to move their pupils beyond an understanding of this or that particular issue or text towards an understanding of those *general principles* which will have relevance to the analysis of similar issues or texts. Evaluation will not be of what pupils *know* but of how they respond in situations where they *do not know the answer.* It is worth emphasizing how seldom we expect this of school pupils in our teaching of most subjects.

What Should Be Taught? From Fragmentation to Coherence

The major epistimological problem facing media teachers can be simply stated. It is this. How is it possible to make any kind of conceptual sense of a field which covers such a diversity of forms, practices, and products? The very object of study itself, "the media", turns out to be, on examination, little more than a convenient catch-all category into which many very different forms of communication can be bundled, rather than a clearly defined field. Each medium itself serves a multiplicity of functions. It was for many years far from clear how even a single medium like television (which serves the functions of cinema, newspaper, magazine, sports arena, theatre, and music-hall all rolled into one) could be studied in a disciplined and rigorous way, let alone *all* of the other media and their complex interrelationships.

Up until the early 1980s the most common "solution" to this problem had really been no solution at all. It was that the "obvious" starting point for thinking about media lay in the uniqueness (or "specificity") of each medium. The subject was deemed to consist of the aggregated sum of these discrete parts. So, a one year course on the media might typically consist of a term on film, half a term on television, half a term on newspapers, a few weeks on advertising, a little time on pop music and so on. The problem here was not simply that the subject was being fragmented at the level of content. It was that different kinds of principles, concepts, and modes of enquiry were being brought into play in studying different media.

More disciplined approaches to teaching about and studying the media emerged slowly during the 1980s. As media teachers began to meet and discuss their work, continuities and correspondences began to emerge out of the most diverse range of practices. Teachers began to recognise, how, if their work were to be firmly grounded in the actual media experiences of their pupils, and if they were to begin the task of responding to the significant ideological issues raised by the media, then television would have to play a much more dominant role in their thinking and practice than it had ever done in the past.

It became possible, finally, to identify a first priciple of media education, a principle from which all else flowed. It was the principle of *non-transparency*. It was a principle which insisted that the media were rather more than simple "windows on the world" or "mirrors" reflecting an external reality. It insisted, rather, that TV, newspapers, films, radio, and advertisements were actively *produced*. They were involved, that is, in a process of *constructing* or *representing* reality rather than simply transmitting or reflecting it.

The crucial distinction which was drawn, then, by all media teachers and students was that between images and their referents, between representations and reality, between (to use the semiological jargon) signifier and signified. And this gave rise in turn to a characteristic discourse in which media teachers and their students talked incessantly not about "women" or "sport" or "poverty" or "prisons" or "Africa", but about *representations* of these things. The central unifying concept of representation indeed became, in the English language, a kind of professional pun: the media do not present reality, they re-present it. The principle of non-transparency, then, insists that the media are the product of human agency. The media *mediate*. They are not, oppressively, the reflections of a reality which we must *accept*. They are, liberatingly, represential or symbolic or sign systems which we must read, understand, and act upon.

If media products are constructions then a number of other areas immediately suggest themselves for further investigation:

(a) *The origins and sources of media representations*: Who owns, controls, produces, and influences the images that we see? Why are the media as they are? Out of what kind of institutional arrangements do they emerge?

(b) *Media rhetoric*: What kind of techniques are used by the media to construct meaning and to produce their effects (e.g., visual and sound editing, the role of commentary, narrative structure, the use of set-ups, etc.) What is involved here is a reversal of the process through which a medium selects and edits material into a polished, continuous, and seamless flow. It involves the *deconstruction* of media texts by breaking through their surface realism to reveal the rhetorical techniques through which meanings are produced. It is yet another important step in moving from subordination to a text to critical liberation from it.

(c) *Ideology*: Media teachers' interest in ideology signals a belief that communication issues and questions of value are inextricably intertwined. It is characteristic of media education that it moves from the apparently trivial - the game show, the soap opera, the appearance of the newsreader - towards a consideration of the often large and significant ideas which underpin them, into a consideration, for instance, of gender stereotyping, or of what counts as knowledge, or of the relative importance attached to competition and cooperation, or the equating of honesty and "truth" with class-based codes of dress or tones of voice. Ultimately what are being explored here are the questions of power. Whose interests are being served by these images and ideas? Out of what sets of material interests and conditions do they spring? Who has easy access to the media and who does not?

(d) *Audience*: Work on media audiences has come a long way in the past decade. Indeed audiences have been much neglected by media educators in the past, being regarded as more or less passive receivers of meanings determined elsewhere. Of predominant importance within media education had been the text. That was where, it was felt, meaning resided. Recent audience research has changed all of this. It has demonstrated that extent to which meaning is not so much *inherent* within a text as produced by the *interaction* of reader (or viewer) and text. Audiences, that is, are not slack-jawed and glassy-eyed morons soaking up everything which the media produce. They are, rather, active and ceaseless producers of meaning. Television or newspapers may *offer* to their audiences a range and diversity of positions from which to view and understand the world. But these positions are then worked upon by audiences. They are often disputed, argued with, integrated, modified, or ignored, and generally subjected to complex processes of negotiation, acceptance, or rejection. Specific responses and decodings may have a structural relationship with the gender, class, or subcultural position of the audiences which make them.

This research has a two-fold importance for media education. First of all the study of media texts can no longer be the study of a text's immanent meanings. It must consider the relationship of texts to different audiences. Secondly, children and students are meaning makers too. The task of the teacher is not to seek consensual and relatively homogenous responses from students, but to welcome diversity and to encourage students to negotiate their own meanings and argue back with the media on their own terms. Students need to make sense of the media's values in terms of their own.

How Should Media Education be Taught? From Discussion to Dialogue

Traditionally, teaching methodology within media education has taken the form of what may be called *disguised narrative* in which the real agenda of the teacher has been hidden from the pupils. This manipulative form of teaching was the logical outcome of the paternalistic objectives of early media education which sought the subtle improvement and development of pupils' media tastes. Central to this methodology was the class discussion, a liberal form in which pupils were offered the illusion of discursive freedom within a situation tightly controlled by the teacher.

As media education matured and developed, so did teaching styles appropriate to it. Simulations, practical audio and video work, sequencing exercises, prediction activities, code-breaking games, and a whole battery of techniques for encouraging effective group learning became, by the mid-1980s, part of the armoury of most media teachers. They were techniques which encouraged pupils to take on much more responsibility for their own learning. They were appropriate to the objective of encouraging the critical autonomy of the pupil since this could only be accomplished by gradually loosening pupils' dependency upon teachers and nurturing confidence in their own ideas and judgements.

This movement away from discussion towards more dialogic ways of working was encouraged by the nature of the media themselves. The media *equalised* teachers and pupils. Both were equally and equal objects of the media's address. Furthermore, the media tended to communicate *laterally*, rather than hierarchically. They spoke *across*, rather than down to their audiences, addressing them, for the most part, in familiar and homely terms. Contrary to popular belief, the media did not encourage passivity. Teaching, because of its predominantly hierarchical mode, did that far more effectively. What the media encouraged, given the right circumstances, were *reflection and dialogue*. Why was this?

Simply, the introduction of media images into the classroom offered to both teachers and pupils alike, objects for critical reflection. The simple act of projecting an image on to a screen possessed, almost magically, the potential to transform the teacher-pupil relationship because it introduced a third element into the classroom, one which was just as familiar to pupils as to teachers and one which could be investigated on equal terms, and from different perspectives by them both. It opened up the potentiality for genuine dialogue.

Traditional narrative teaching had never done this. There it was the *teacher* who was the principal focus of the pupils' attention, and that attention had to be paid not simply to the content of the teachers' narratives but also to the idiosyncracies of the teachers themselves, their moods, whims, and preferred ways of working. This was a situation which greatly discouraged mature reflection and critical questioning because both represented direct threats either to the personal authority of teachers or to the knowledge with which their status was associated.

Media education ultimately offered a way out of this impasse, providing new dialogic ways of working in which teachers and students could continually learn from one another as co-investigators and co-participants. And if offered a new epistemology in which knowledge could be seen not as an oppressive, inert body of facts and ideas narrated by teachers to pupils, but as something actively created by both through a process of dialogue, reflection, and action.

Practical work: From Cultural Reproduction to Critical Practice

As I have suggested, media education is essentially active and participatory. It is about doing things. Most media education programmes have allowed students as many opportunities as possible to communicate their own ideas through the production of their own newspapers, radio and TV programmes, films, photographs and photomontages, and advertising posters and campaigns.

Practical activity does not, in itself, constitute media education, however. In the early 1980s many media educators fell into what I have called *the technicist trap*: the belief that media education could be reduced to a series of purely technical operations, and that through their involvement in practical projects, students would *automatically* acquire critical abilities. Much of this early work was in fact a form of cultural reproduction, as students attempted to *emulate* professional media practices rather than to subject them to critical scrutiny. Far from de-mystifying the media, this kind of work all too often *increased* media mystification when students compared their own tentative efforts with the polished products of media professionals. This was a practice which naturalised rather the deconstructed media codes and conventions.

In the late 1980s, it is now much clearer that:

(a) The link between practical work and analytic activities needs to be consciously forged by media teachers. It must be worked for. It cannot be assumed.

(b) Practical work is not an end in itself but a necessary means to developing a critical understanding of the media.

(c) Re-affirming the primacy of cultural criticism over cultural reproduction has begun to lead to a fundamental reassessment of priorities for practical work. Many media teachers would now argue that the most significant forms of practical activity may not necessarily be high profile (and often time-consuming) projects which call for the use of elaborate and sophisticated equipment. They may be very simple activities, doggedly low-tech, and within the reach of every teacher in every classroom: producing and manipulating still images, writing commentaries; editing news stories, experimenting with interviewing techniques and the like. Some practical work may call for the use of more sophisticated equipment, but even here most media teachers are now more concerned to encourage students to experiment with alternatives, and to break or play around with dominant codes and conventions, than to slavishly reproduce dominant media forms.

Cultural reproduction, it is now recognised, is a poor aim for media education. It is uncritical. It enslaves rather than liberates. It freezes the impulses towards action and change. It naturalises current conventions, and thus encourages conformity and deference. Media education, on the other hand, in raising questions about how media texts are constructed (and might be constructed differently) and in its insistence upon the nature of media texts as the products of specific human choices, aims to encourage not only practical criticism but a genuinely critical practice.

Conclusion: Media Education for the Future

This article has sought to outline changes in the rationale, content, and pedagogy of media education which have taken place in the recent past. Media education is, however, emphatically an education for and about the future. As we move rapidly into an age of deregulated multi-channelled broadcasting, interactive cable systems, and the general convergence of media and computer data technologies, what future priorities can be discerned for media educators? Lack of space permits little more than the most schematic of answers to this important question, but let me suggest three directions in which media education might develop:

1. First of all in an era within which market forces are seemingly carrying all before them in the sphere of mass communications, it is still important for media teachers to raise questions of *public accountability and democratic control.* Should information be regarded as a commodity or does it have a social value? Is it preferable to produce information which meets general social needs or information which makes a profit? Is access to information a right, or should it be restricted to those who can pay? Is information an extension of property rights or does it lie in the public domain? Even to raise these questions is to seem quaintly old-fashioned, so thoroughly has democracy become identified with choice and control in the sphere of consumption rather than production. Yet the defence of public information systems remains an important priority and their future remains closely bound

up with the existence of a public which is articulate and well informed on media issues. The creation and sustenance of that articulate public voice is likely to remain an important priority for media educators into the foreseeable future.

2. A second priority for media educators is likely to involve *the elevation of study of advertising* to a much more important role than it has assumed in the past, as it becomes increasingly evident that advertising is perhaps the pre-eminent shaper of those media which survive and flourish into the 21st century. This will involve a fundamental shift in and expansion of our concept of advertising to include not simply "paid-for" ads but a whole range of modern disciplines and techniques, such as public relations, the manufacture and management of information, sponsorship, direct mailing, product placement, and "advertorials" (the production of thinly disguised ads as editorial or feature material). Advertising, that is, should be understood as a small part of the process of *marketing*, a philosophy and an industry which has a close and symbiotic relationship with the media, and whose practitioners include not simply commercial organisations, but, crucially, national governments, special interest groups, and institutions of every size and shade of opinion.

The development of marketing techniques has already produced a *convergence of advertising and non-advertising material* in the media. Paradoxically, today, if one wished to study the most advanced marketing techniques one would go to news, sports, and fictional television *programmes*. If one wished to study the most sophisticated visual and narrative forms one would go to the advertisements.

Of fundamental importance in prioritising the study of marketing and advertising, however, is to shift students' understanding of the role and function of the media *as a whole*. Until now media education has been based upon a premiss of astonishing naivity, and has passed on to its students a misleadingly one-dimensional view of what the media do. This premiss has been that the media's primary function is to provide news, information, and entertainment for their audiences, and media education has largely consisted of the study of these media forms. Actually the chief product of the mass media are not programmes or articles but *audiences*. Commercial media stand or fall by their ability to deliver desirable audiences to advertisers.

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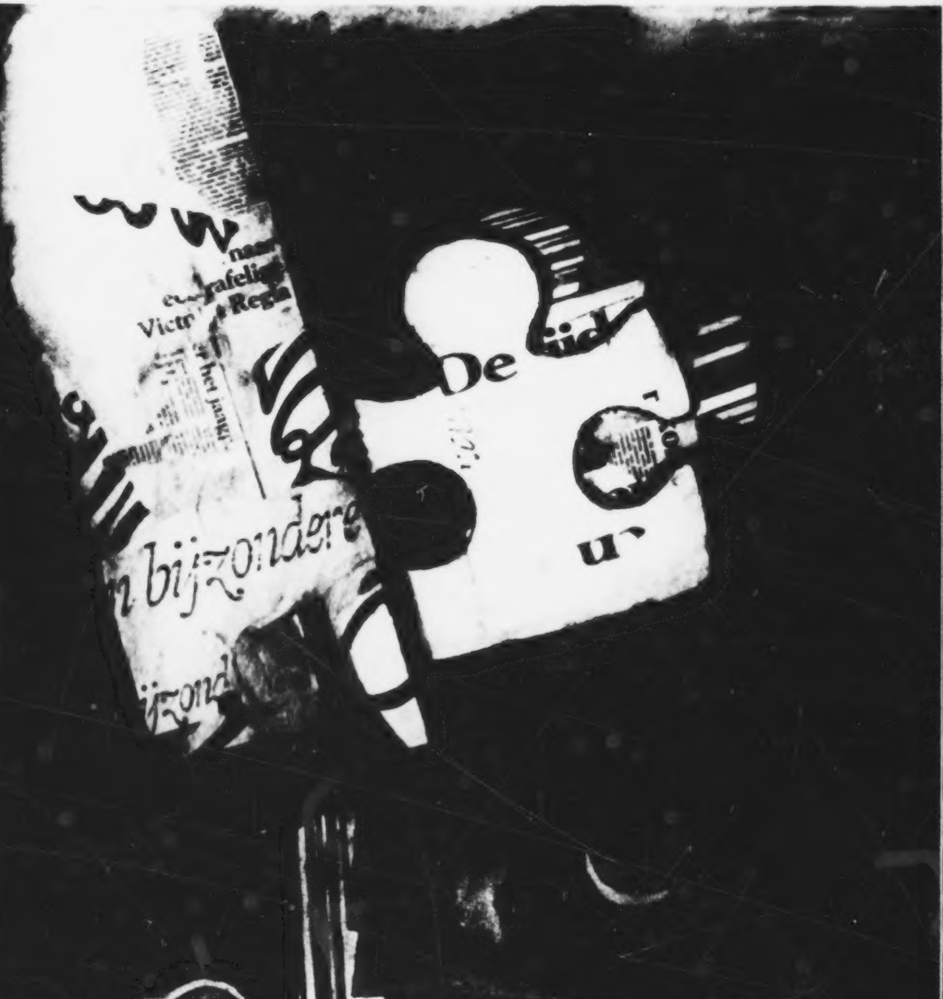
The validity of this view may easily be substantiated by reference to any of the many trade journals which circulate within the media industries. In them media teachers and their students will find audiences discussed as commercial commodities with great openness. They will find media institutions advertising not their programmes, but their audiences. And they will find that media content, where it is discussed at all, only surfaces in terms of its ability to produce a particular target audience. Of consuming interest, on the other hand, are such matters as "cost-per-thousand", audience segmentation techniques, rate-card costs, and precision "targetting".

It is a matter of some importance that pupils should have access to this kind of material and should understand the crucial function of contemporary media in segmenting and packaging audiences for sale to advertisers. This will give them a new and radically different way of conceptualising the media and help them understand the differences which exist between the way in which the media address the public, and the way in which they speak to prospective advertisers. It will help them to understand, that is, that their own "natural" way of relating to media is a mystificatory one, designed to conceal from them the true nature of the audience commodity.

3. Finally, however, it must be admitted that the media educator's crystal ball is not necessarily any clearer than anyone else's and that the precise shape of the future remains, as it must, properly enveloped in uncertainty. What is certain is that in whatever direction media and information systems develop, we, as media educators, must develop with them. This will involve not so much a commitment to this or that particular course of action, but a commitment to *the principle of continuous change itself*. It is this principle which lies at the heart of any successful media education practice, an understanding that change is not a movement from one relatively stable state to another, but an inevitable and continuing process. This then is the fundamental task with which media educators are charged: that in whatever directions media and information technologies develop and expand in the future, these changes must be matched by a commensurate expansion in the critical consciousness of their audiences. It is an important task, worthy of our commitment and energy well beyond the 1980s.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THE FICTIONAL WORLD OF FILM AND TELEVISION:
THEATRICAL COMMUNICATION IN THE CLASSROOM

by

Sonja de Leeuw

Introduction

In this article I would like to discuss film and TV education from the perspective of *theatrical communication*, a new initiative in media education which has been taken in the Netherlands within the field of Theatre Studies. A few years ago a THEATRE, FILM, AND TV CURRICULUM (De Leeuw 1985) for secondary education was developed, based on what is called the "frame of reference of theatrical communication". This refers to a specific form of communication, a process in which the *as-if* (the theatrical, fiction) plays an important role. Apart from this is the question of how this *as-if* is perceptible by the audience, if at all.

What I would like to demonstrate in this article is in what way Theatre Studies can take part in the debates about media education, and how this "frame of reference" derived from the Theatre Studies approach can be formulated and transformed into starting points, objectives, and contents of *film* and *TV* education.

In the following sections I will first briefly reflect on some aspects relating to the development of media education curricula, after which I will try to explain *theatrical communication*.

Possible consequences of this frame of reference for film and TV education will be considered. Starting points, objectives, content, and didactic method will be briefly discussed. Each of these is related to the THEATRE, FILM, AND TV CURRICULUM I have mentioned (De Leeuw, et al. 1985) and to a lesser extent to further research based on the CURRICULUM, specifically, the development of courses about television, fictional and non-fictional.

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Some preceding reflections

Both the social and scientific debates about media education which still are being carried on by educationalists, protectors of the "fine arts", teachers, social scientists, film scientists, etc., demonstrate widely divergent views as to the "what" and "how" of media education. This is not surprising since such views are necessarily bound to specific social and/or scientific starting points and opinions relating to media, culture, society, education, and the relationships between them. No wonder then that media education which is rooted in the Critical Media Theory consequently offers a curriculum quite different from media education which is linked with, e.g., filmaesthetics (visual literacy). Both approaches are marked by divergent ways of thinking about where and how the media function in society, what pupils should learn about them, and what knowledge and skills should be acquired in order "to cope with" the media. This "media pedagogical" thinking has produced, in the course of history, many different initiatives in media education. The two mentioned above, could be roughly divided into two main approaches: the "sociological" approach, related to mass communication research, and the "aesthetic" approach, related to research into aesthetic communication (De Leeuw 1987). The initiative rooted in the field of Theatre Studies which I will discuss in this article offers a specific concretization of the "aesthetic" approach. Looking at the history of media pedagogics one can see how initiatives reacted to the media's existence and functioning in society again and again in many different ways. Stated a bit exaggeratedly, they vary from frantic cheering on every mediatechnical innovation to moralizing warnings against the existing and newcoming media (cf. Mohn and Schorb:1984). What they all seem to have in common is what has been formulated before as "coping with the media". This "coping with" has been related to basic concepts like "manipulation", "production of meaning", etc., as far as it concerns the concrete curricula. Generally speaking the problem is, however, the fact that basic concepts are very hard to discover in the media education curricula. For this reason media education curricula often make an incidental and rather arbitrary impression. Furthermore they do not seem to relate to a general or specific social or scientific approach with which basic concepts could be connected. Theatrical communication which I am suggesting here as a "frame of reference" for media education is related to the scientific approach of Theatre Studies. It is, in my view, capable of generating a coherent film and TV curriculum, and integrates aspects like media, culture, society, and their interrelationships.

Theatrical communication

As I have mentioned in the Introduction, theatrical communication refers to a specific form of communication. It is a process in which the *as-if* (the theatrical) plays an important role. Apart from this is the relevant question of how this *as-if* (the theatrical) is perceptible by the audience, if at all. Studying theatre, film, and television drama as forms of theatrical communication means researching how theatre, film, and TV intermediate between producer and recipient by way of signs, intended by the producers to be seen as theatrical (as fiction). People can interpret these signs as theatrical (the theatrical convention) or as realistic (the reality convention) (cf. Schoenmakers 1986: 3-6). It seems, however, necessary to handle this dichotomy in a more dynamic way. It can be seen as a continuum. People can interpret signs as theatrical, as fiction, which are not intended to be seen as such. From this point of view it is important to examine the rules, standards, and conventions related to processes connected with the *construction of (dramatic) "reality"* by producers as well as by audiences. These conventions are historically and socially variable and, therefore liable to change. Briefly summarized it comes to this: who interprets what in which period in what way?

For example, from a historical point of view it seems important to examine, e.g., how people interpret forms of theatrical communication, what the characteristics of theatrical convention at any given time are, how this convention is related to the reality convention at any given time, and how the authorities are engaged in theatrical productions (cf. Schoenmakers 1986:13)

Generally speaking the question is how theatre, film, and television (drama) function in specific communication processes. Theatre, film, and television (drama) are forms of dramatic art equally, i.e., the construction of a possible (dramatic) "reality" (cf. Kattenbelt 1988:54). Apart from the specific possibilities and, therefore, also the restrictions of (re)presentation of each of these media in constructing a message and in transmitting information, there is one basic distinction between them: theatre is a form of direct communication, while film and television, generally speaking[1], communicate indirectly between transmitter and receiver. (At this moment I wish to stay away from the specific problems connected with live television. The live television communication process has to be reviewed again.) There is a medium between them. This means that in the theatre, production, distribution, and reception being the principal elements of the communication process, take place simultaneously (as far as it concerns the performance,), while in film and television, generally speaking, these elements are separated in time (Kattenbelt 1988 b: 219 and 227).

These elements refer to all persons and institutions involved in the process of theatrical communication, that is to say, not only producers and audiences, but also ministries, art councils, broadcasting companies, regional and local authorities, (film)-theatres, distribution organizations, critics, etc. All of those involved determine and influence the content and effect of the theatrical convention (Schoenmakers 1986:11).

According to the Theatre Studies approach studying theatre, film, and television drama thus means studying the "actors" in the communication process. This consequently means that we have to concentrate on production, distribution, and reception alike and on their relations with social and cultural developments. More specifically it means research into the following four aspects:

1. the intentions of the producers (writers, directors).
2. the way they try out and realize these in the theatrical (theatre, film, and TV) productions: characteristics and significations.
3. the reception and appreciation by the audience and critics.
4. the conditions under which productions are (can be) made: e.g., system, finances, economy, techniques, policy, distribution possibilities.

In connection with these elements we should examine the rules and standards that play a role in the process of theatrical communication summed up in terms of conventions and breaking conventions. For instance, in relation to television drama these conventions unquestionably refer to the interpretation of reality as it is presented in the fiction, a signifying process which involves the system, the producers, the audience, and the critics on equal terms (De Leeuw 1988).

Referring to the interpretation of reality in fiction we can touch on some fringe areas like the theatricalization of daily life, the dramatization of, e.g., news programmes, and programmes (productions) in which the as-if, though intended, is not perceptible as such.

At the beginning of this section I mentioned that theatre, film, and TV intermediate between producer and recipient by way of signs (sign systems). These are elements which constitute the "performance" in order to produce fiction, a represented "reality", in the sense of the construction of an illusion of "reality". This refers to the problem connected with the theatrical convention in such a way that, here, the same question can be posed: which presentation of "reality", fictional or nonfictional, is intended by the producers as represented and which one as "real". Conversely we have to examine which of these presentations is taken by the audience for represented and which one for "real".

The signs that in a specific combination constitute the performance and construct "reality" can be defined in terms of dramatic principles such as narrative structure, space and time structure, characters, mise en scène, etc., and "theatrical", i.e., theatrical, cinematic, and televisual means like, e.g., scenery, gesture, mime, light, acting style, camera movement, camera angle, camera shot, and editing. The picture we see is a result of how the dramatic principles and "theatrical" means are utilized in order to produce a specific representation; it is the way information is represented by way of dramatic principles and "theatrical" means that determines its specific communication value. In this sense there is a direct relationship between representation and signification.

To conclude this section I would like to return to the character of the conventions intended by producers and interpreted by audiences in processes of theatrical communication. The conventions are that of theatricality and that of reality. According to the communication approach it would serve no useful purpose to try and give adequate and absolute judgements upon the character of "reality" in the fiction. Rather than making the two conventions explicit, we could examine how producers and audiences deal with fiction or "theatricality", and "reality". In a very specific way this applies to television where fictional programmes are alternating with nonfictional programmes. It is important to examine the relationship between fiction and "reality" because television (fiction) produces many different constructions of 'reality' and thus influences our interpretation of "reality".

An understanding of the processes in which possible theatrical and reality conventions function is necessary to understand what the enormous offer of fiction on television can bring about. It is important to translate this understanding into curricula for primary and secondary education. Pupils should be able to distinguish the possibilities of theatrical arts and media (film and television (drama)) to "manipulate" (not in the negative sense) their construction of the dramatic "reality". Thus, they will be capable of gaining an insight into the relationship between fiction and reality in fictional and nonfictional programmes (Schoenmakers 1986:9).

THE THEATRE, FILM, AND TELEVISION CURRICULUM

Preface

Developing a framework for a theatre, film, and TV curriculum within the field of Theatre Studies by definition is experimental. In the Netherlands there is only very irregularly and incidentally film and TV education in the school and hardly any theatre education. Therefore, it is not easy to find a place to explore the curriculum in the classroom. Besides, it is experimental with respect to other media education approaches in the way it puts theatre, film, TV, and even dance, on one level.

The THEATRE, FILM, AND TV CURRICULUM (De Leeuw et al. 1985), based on the frame of reference of theatrical communication, was developed in cooperation with the Faculty of Education in a one-year project which started in 1984. During this year we discussed the theoretical basis of the CURRICULUM, i.e., aspects relating to media (theatrical communication), culture (visual culture), society, and education (among others the existing approaches in media education and the method of curriculum development). As a result of these discussions we formulated starting points and general objectives for theatre, film, and TV education. In continuous interaction with the theoretical part of the curriculum development process, we worked on the concretization of the theoretical basis and the development of teaching subjects. At that time this meant a *general basic course* and a *curriculum structure* (in *structuring principles*) which is capable of producing more advanced topics(themes). We also developed *teaching outlines* for several of these advanced topics on theatre, film, TV, and dance, and a comparison between these objects of study. During the one-year project the basic course was tested in different schools. The results of this experience are incorporated in the CURRICULUM, which, thus, is the reflection of an experimental research period, meant to function as a starting-point for further activities in the field of theatre, film, and TV education. One of these activities at the Department for Theatre Studies particularly focused on *TV education*, which has resulted, quite recently, in a basic course for secundary education on television (fiction) (de Leeuw et al. 1989).

It seems important to observe at this time that in the context of media education there is no reason to reject the THEATRE, FILM, AND TV CURRICULUM, only because it "deals with theatre". The open structure of the CURRICULUM leaves it to one's choice to teach exclusively either about theatre, or film, or television. On the other hand it will be possible to teach about theatre, film, and TV by comparison. Also by lifting out specific teaching subjects from any of these media one can illustrate more specifically their functioning in communication processes. The frame of reference of theatrical communication that lies behind in both cases shows the way to the "what" and "how". In the following part I hope to give a slight impression of this "what" and "how" after having briefly summarized the underlying starting points and general objectives. Within the context of this volume I will mainly concentrate on the film and TV part of the CURRICULUM, and on the most recent work that has been done about television fiction.

Starting points of film and TV education

During the last decades society has more and more turned into a society in which visual communication generates the rules and standards used in interpreting daily reality. As a result of this innovation we speak about "visual culture" although there seems a good deal of work to do in getting it accepted as "culture". Nonetheless, the communicative cultural value of visual communication or visual culture can be recognized. Visual communication media like film and television, and, e.g., theatre, are part of our culture and are modifying it at the same time. Like literature and, e.g., the arts of design, theatre, film and television are cultural inheritances. I am driving here at the process character of this, not the static. This means that visual communication media should be regarded as expression forms in a specific social situation in the recent past and the long-ago. Without this understanding it will not be possible to understand the present-day manifestations of visual culture.

Paintings, photographs, films, and television are visual forms of communication and depend on the complex process of visual knowing, of knowing to see, of learning to see. That is why film and TV education should prepare pupils to live *in* a visual culture: active, critical and above all, enjoying it. A visual culture is a culture in which the visual communicative character of society is in the foreground.

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How one enjoys and interprets visual culture depends on the capability of understanding the constructed character of it, i.e., the possibilities of visual communication media to construct "reality" and to manipulate (not in the negative sense) our construction of the (dramatic) "reality". Film and television, being forms of theatrical communication, use dramatic principles and cinematic/televisual means to construct "reality", to represent "reality". Through the study of theatrical communication the various relationships within the representation can be compared with those in "reality", and the relationship between fiction and reality can be discussed. Therefore, in the early part of the CURRICULUM we have chosen to concentrate on the dramatic principles and the cinematic/televisual means. Furthermore, the various elements of the theatrical communication process such as the intentions of producers, reception, and appreciation, and the conditions under which the communication takes place could become comprehensible in their being related to the representation and vice versa.

General objectives of film and TV education

In virtue of the starting points mentioned above, film and TV education aims at a deeper understanding of the various aspects figuring in processes of theatrical communication. What we tried to do was to translate this very broad aim into educational objectives which refer in a specific and identifiable way to these aspects and which could be used as teaching supports in the classroom. For that purpose we formulated objectives mainly in the domain of cognition (thinking activities aiming at knowledge and skills) connected with objectives in the domain of affection that "includes objectives which describe changes in interest, attitudes, and values, and the development of appreciation and adequate adjustment" (Bloom 1956). In practice both categories are at work at the same time (De Leeuw et al. 1985).

The following *objectives of cognition* have been formulated. Pupils should be able to recognize, describe, analyze, and interpret (v. Corte et.al. 1979:41-48 and De Leeuw et.al. 1985:3-7):

1. The relationship between fiction and "reality" in film and TV (drama) productions.
2. The way the dramatic principles and cinematic/televisual means are utilized in film and TV (drama) productions to construct "reality", to produce a specific representation.

3. The functioning of the principal elements in processes of theatrical communication connected with film and TV (drama) productions.
4. For these purposes pupils should, first of all, have knowledge of the sign systems film and TV are using.

These objectives could be further specified, corresponding with more detailed film and TV teaching subjects, such as:

1. To recover the intentions of film and television makers including their outlook on social life and the way they realized these in their film and television (drama) productions.
2. To relate the production of given genres or styles to their commercial working profit.
3. To recognize how audience behaviour (e.g. figures) is influencing the production of popular culture.
4. To recognize the relationship between production and distribution circuits and specific film genres.

Objectives of affection we formulated as follows:

1. To get into contact with the aesthetic and social values of film and television (drama).
2. To become appreciative of the various manifestations of film and television (drama).
3. To become aware of the "how" and "what" of one's own selection of films and television (drama) programmes.
4. To become aware and critical of the (usually) implicit rules and standards in films and television (drama) programmes.

The what and how of film and TV education

Following from the foregoing, the main subject of film and TV education can be described as the "theatrical" communicative aspects of film and TV, i.e.:

1. The dramatic principles and the cinematic/televisual means (sign systems) that construct a possible (dramatic) "reality".
2. The intentions of film and TV makers.
3. The reception by the audience.
4. The appreciation by critics.
5. The conditions under which film and TV productions are made.

These elements can be studied separately and in their relation to one another from a historical as well as from a theoretical analytical point of view. Thus, a very large field of possible film and TV subjects emerges which we did not fully cover in the THEATRE, FILM, AND TV CURRICULUM. The general basic course and the teaching outlines on more advanced topics (themes to be elaborated into courses) which we developed, were supposed to fill up about two years in secondary education (De Leeuw et.al. 1985: 81-92). By this a diverse offer was made possible which could serve as an example for following activities and, at the same time, be large enough to experiment with.

The *general basic course* in the THEATRE, FILM, AND TV CURRICULUM deals with "theatrical communication". The following subjects are examined in 12 lessons: elements of communication (how it functions); theatrical (as-if) communication (what it is); dramatic principles and theatrical, cinematic, and televisual means (sign systems, centralized in the course); and the analysis of a television play. All of these are meant to be on an introductory level; basic knowledge and basic (analyzing) skills necessary for more advanced topics are to follow. In this general basic course we wanted to stress the similarities between theatre, film, and TV as forms of dramatic art before coming to the more specific theatrical, cinematic, and televisual means. In this way it prepares for all kinds of teaching subjects on theatre, film, or TV later on.

Another possibility is the development of a basic course centering only on, for instance, television (fiction) as we did quite recently in *Typical Television* (De Leeuw et al. 1985). In this course of 12 lessons the theatrical communication situation (the frame of reference) is supposed to take only two lessons. It has to be coupled from the beginning with the *idea* of television's connection with "reality", i.e., as a medium that offers a window on the world, and with the idea of constructing "reality". The televisual means are explored at the level of *how* they are *constructing* and *representing* "reality" in television fiction by way of covering up or emphasizing the fictional character of the programmes. In this context the "fictional" character of nonfictional programmes was drawn into the discussion. Like in the general basic course of the CURRICULUM, the emphasis lies on the dramatic principles and the televisual means. In nine lessons we discussed narrative structure, acting style, character, camera movement, editing, dialogue, sound, and scenery. This was done so with the idea of their relationship to the interpretation of reality as it is presented in the fiction (signifying process). In the last lesson knowledge and skills can be applied in various free instructions.

Here we started from the basic question, "What do you see?", which is appealing to the very direct experience of watching television. We used examples from television commercials and television drama (single plays and series), and didactic forms like the making of a storyboard, scriptwriting, classroom discussion, the developing of a sound decor, etc.

After the basic course(s) many different film and TV subjects lie before us. As I have observed, in the THEATRE, FILM, AND TV CURRICULUM we developed *teaching outlines* on several of these subjects in themes. Most of them still have to be elaborated into courses. In using these themes other elements of the theatrical communication process can be discussed as to their relationship with the representations produced by the sign systems. Furthermore, the knowledge about sign systems and analyzing skills can be deepened.

In order to handle the large field of possible film and TV subjects more or less systematically, in the THEATRE, FILM, AND TV CURRICULUM we tried to develop *structuring principles.* These are categories to be used after having dealt with the basic course and which enable one to approach this large field in accordance with the starting points and the general objectives.[2] The structuring principles are *genre, history, medium specificity, social cultural aspects, and analysis.* These categories refer partly to the constitutive elements of the process of theatrical communication and partly present the possibility to deal with these elements from a historical as well as from a theoretical analytical point of view.

Through these categories various teaching subjects can be opened up, such as:

1. The characteristics and historical development of certain genres (western, situation comedies).
2. The content and effect of conventions in specific historical currents (film noir, neorealism).
3. The way makers used and are using specific conventions and the sign systems of film and TV (Hitchcock, Wenders, Loach).
4. The possibilities of the camera in film and TV (historical development and possibilities to construct "reality").
5. The broadcasting system and broadcasting companies and their influence on TV drama productions.
6. The film subsidy system in relationship to the production of specific films (art films, experimental films).
7. The relationship between fiction and "reality" (the theatrical convention and the "reality" convention) in documentary drama.

8. The analysis of narrative structure in police series.
9. The reviews of critics on a specific television genre and its influence on how audiences perceive(d) this genre.
10. The use of light in film noir, etc.

When constructing a specific theme at least two categories have to be combined. In dealing with, e.g., film noir, the combination of, for instance, two categories, e.g., *history* and *analysis*, determines from what perspective this specific part of the film and TV curriculum is approached, i.e., dramatic principles and cinematic means in the film noir.

The themes should enlarge certain aspects of the basic course. By way of illustration I will give an example of a *teaching outline* for a theme (De Leeuw et al. 1985:103-120). When dealing with film, one can develop a theme about a specific genre, e.g., *melodrama.* We take the combination *genre - social cultural aspects.* The main objective could be formulated as being able to recognize and describe the formal and ideological characteristics of melodrama and to relate these to one another and to the society that has generated this genre. For that purpose examples of present-day TV serials could be analyzed before analyzing melodramatic films (USA 1930/1940/1950) for formal and ideological characteristics. Next, problems could be examined such as: how did melodrama arise, how did it reflect American society, who produced these films, for what audiences and for what purpose, what kinds of "stars" did it produce, etc. In final sessions one of these problems could be elaborated more thoroughly depending on the interest of the pupils.

In continuation of the basic course about television (fiction): *Typical Television* (De Leeuw et al. 1989), there will be worked at themes in which ,e.g., the history of television (studio drama in relationship with scenery; theatre on television in the early days and now; technical restictions and possibilities; (etc.) can be integrated.

Final word

Peering into the future a few tendencies stand out in view of the possibilities of realizing film and TV curricula in the school. One of the most important developments in the Netherlands seems to be the officially planned development of education towards so-called integrating education. Little by little the boundaries between the traditional subjects will fade away in favour of education that is organized around themes in which various subjects are integrated. Film and TV education has to find its place among these. Although it will take years to carry through this educational reform, there no longer seems to be a reason to fight for the autonomous subject, *Film and TV*, or *Theatre, Film and TV* in the school. At this moment there is nothing like this subject in the Netherlands. In the near future Theatre Studies will work at developing flexible courses on film, TV, and theatre which can be used in current education and which can be adapted to future educational conditions as well. Partly these courses can be "easily" done within the already existing subjects, i.e., the basic courses. Other courses on more advanced topics, i.e., the *themes*, will require teachers specialized in the field of Theatre Studies. With this a new discussion has been opened.

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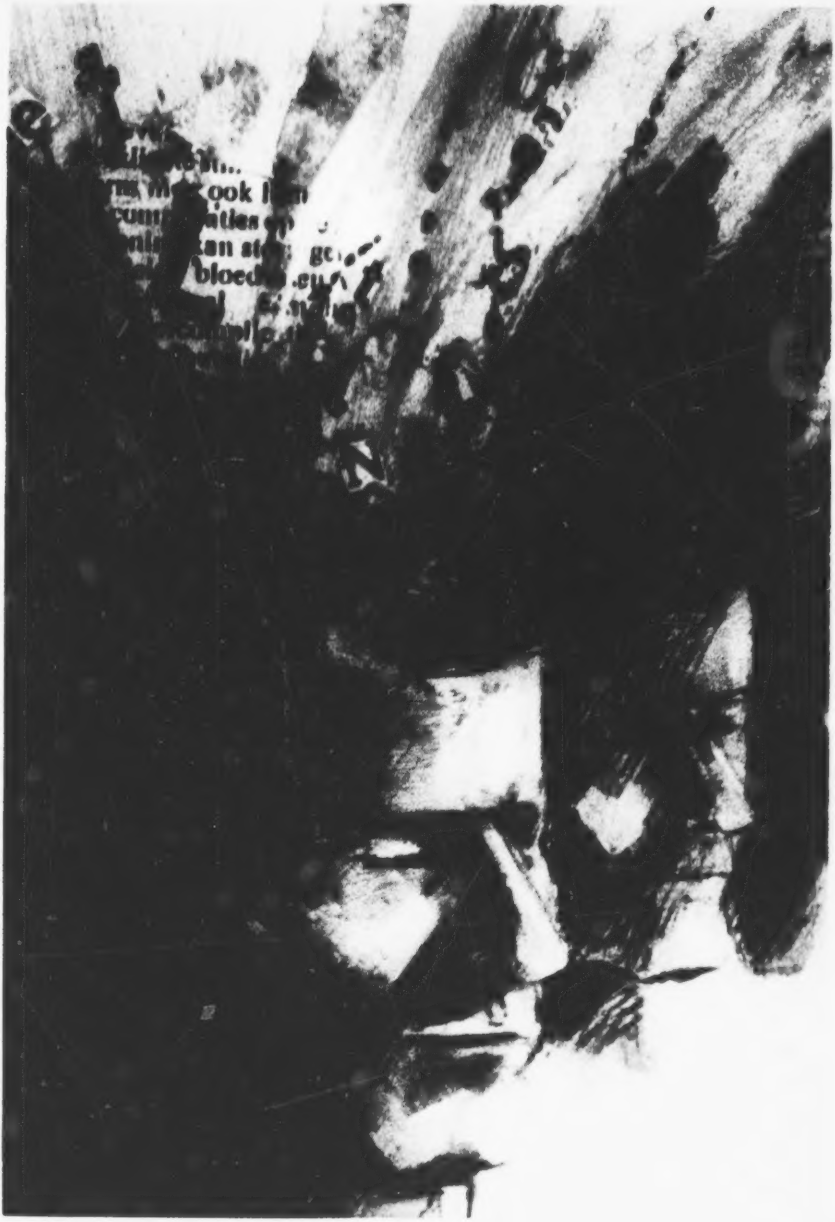
THE FICTIONAL WORLD

1. At this moment I wish to stay away from the specific problems connected with live television. The live television communication process has to be reviewed again.

2. For argumentation on structuring principles and their concretization, see: *Theater, Film en Televisie* (Utrecht: 1985), pp. 97-102



CREATING A BALANCE BETWEEN MAKER AND VIEWER

by

Harrie Swinkels

When reading articles about the aims of media education one nearly always comes across a description like "learning to watch critically". The question is how this can be taught best. To be able to answer this question we first need to know what is meant by "watching critically". The notion is often used with little explicitness. It isn't until we have a look at the practice of media education itself that we get some idea about what "watching critically" could mean. By analyzing the content of the methods, one can distinguish two general approaches which exist within media education.

The first approach has its base in theories about mass communication. This approach looks at the media as social phenomena and as transmitters of information, values, and standards. I name this widely used approach, the "socially oriented" approach. Less used is the second approach which I define as the "aesthetic" approach. It has its base in the arts and looks primarily upon media as products with a *form*, as constructions aiming at a certain effect. The effects of the two approaches based on experiences of teaching of media education, have yet to be fully explored. I believe that the so-called aesthetic approach supplies inspiring and creative possibilities for effective media education practice.

After a short description of both approaches, there follows a more *detailed* description of the contents and starting points of the aesthetic approach. The article is rounded off with some practical applications based on this approach.

The socially oriented approach compared with the aesthetic approach

The socially oriented approach is most clearly present in the English subject of media studies and in the Netherlands in the subject of "maatschappijleer" (social studies). One of the fixed themes of this latter subject is mass media with learning contents like the broadcasting system, government interference, freedom of press, (political) colouring of news, and manipulation (structuurcommissie maatschappijleer). Media studies is the name generally used in England for the subject providing the context for media education. Some core contents of this subject are the way in which they function structurally and economically, their role in society, and the way in which they represent things and produce meanings. In the latter, analysis activities are very important. In accordance with the socially oriented perspective this analysis aims at revealing the ideological meaning of the media contents.

In English speaking regions it is especially the media studies theory which has been developed properly, while concrete teaching materials lag behind. For the most part suggestions for lessons are based on teaching, watching, and discussing. It is only for analyzing that useful analysis models, or rather, question models have been developed. As said before most of the time these are subordinated to discovering the ideology in the media-product (Swinkels 1987).

From the socially oriented perspective a "critical viewer" is someone with a knowledge of the production conditions and commercial structure of the media and insight into the ideological contents and role of the media. Characteristic to this approach is the emphasis on cognitive knowledge and the structural side of the media, the critical and often negative judgment of the mass media, and the fact that discussions are generally restricted to the dominant media.

There are not much data on the actual results of this approach and the accompanying teaching programmes although in England some critical analysis has been done lately. The discussion centers around the curricula, the implicit negative judgment of the media, and the role of practical media activities (Screen 27). Dutch media education has no structural position except for the theme of mass media in the subject of social studies mentioned before. Thus we do not have the practice of tradition like in England.

What we do have is the discipline of audiovisual education. It is one of the art disciplines existing side by side by with visual, music, dance, and drama education. It is not yet an autonomous subject in Dutch education, but in the context of this discipline teaching materials about the media and the area of learning are being further developed.

The fact that audiovisual education is part of art education in itself implies an aesthetic perspective. There are more motives for choosing aesthetic analysis of the media as a starting point for media education.

In the socially oriented approach the key concepts have to do with the structure of the media system, the commercial conditions for production, and the ideology of the content. Students have a general knowledge about these subjects. Today's generation has grown up with the media systems and the commercial character. They are an integral part of our society. It rather is something which is accepted, something which goes without saying. From the educational point of view, one can hardly expect students to be interested in these phenomena as important learning areas in the field of media education.

The approach neglects in some way the complex relation between the media and the public, which includes, of course, the individual student. Students obtain general knowledge about the media but it is doubtful if they relate this to their own viewing behaviour and judging skills. When one enjoys the media, learning about their implicit negative manipulation, and ideological and commercial bases, it will not be easy to accept.

Another aspect of the socially oriented approach is the extensive learning area. Mostly it consists of four equal content areas:

-the producers and their intentions
-the production conditions
-the medium, i.e., the audiovisual products
-the reception by the audience.

There is a chance that these four areas will remain separate knowledge areas in the students mind. It is my argument, however, that media education must generate understanding of the interrelationships between these content areas.

Media education on an aesthetic basis, therefore, selects one area as a core from which relations are made to the other content areas. In the aesthetic approach *the medium* is the core content. More specifically the subject matter concerns the mechanisms within the media which generate the communication. I define these mechanisms as "the aesthetics of audiovisual culture".

According to the aesthetic approach a critical viewer can be described as someone who independently and with motivation discriminates between and in media products and knows how to judge and value them. To be able to do this the viewer needs to be familiar with design principles related to picture and sound and their intended affects; he needs some insight into the constructed character of the media reality.

In fact this is the same knowledge that the maker of media programmes has. A critical or "expert" viewer is somebody with a media luggage comparable to that of a maker.

This turns media education into the creation of a balance between maker and viewer. What it comes down to is adding to the expertise of the viewer. This in turn, gives him criteria to judge media products as constructions of form and content with certain intended effects on the public.

Though there are no real basic differences between the aims of the aesthetical and socially oriented approach, they differ in their implicit description of a critical viewer. In the following section we will go more deeply into the concretization of the aesthetic approach to media education.

Set of aesthetic notions

The traditional and the audiovisual forms of expression use a medium and establish a form by means of a medium. Both use techniques and language with which they express and put across something. This they communicate with the public.

Several aesthetic principles of the traditional arts fit into the aesthetic framework of the audiovisual forms of culture. The framework is completed with principles characteristic to the audiovisual media.

Contents of the set of aesthetic notions

Recently several theorists in the arts and media have contributed to the development of an aesthetic framework for analysing the media. The following set of aesthetic notions is partly based on the ideas of R.M. Degge (1985) and J.G. Gawelti (1985). It consists of four groups of elements:

1. *Formal characteristics*

These are all form elements of the visual image which give the image its meaning. Elements from the visual arts such as colour, light, composition, perspective, lines, arrangement, and frame are completed by typical media elements such as time, movement, the succession of pictures and cuts, and the combination of picture and sound.

Yet formal aspects are paid far less attention to in the analysis of the media and especially TV than in the analyses of the art of painting, photography, and even film. It is difficult, to study TV as a non-moving picture and there is less deliberate use of formal visual elements. A formal analysis alone is not enough to understand its effect on and fascination to the public. It is not the form, i.e., frame, camera position, and combination of pictures or light, which is the most important narrative medium, but what happens in front of the camera is.

In the images we mostly see seemingly real objects, persons, behaviour, situations, and environments. The meaning they convey is directly related to the outward similarity these elements have with reality as far as it is known to the viewer.

2. *The relationship between representation and reality*

This relationship is important to all artistic forms of expression. However, representation through the media has a number of specific characteristics because it is so very much like reality.

Watching TV or a film is a sensory experience of seeing and hearing and it seems very much like the way in which we experience reality.

Because it is so real TV makes people experience things; it appeals directly to emotions. It is as if one is really there right in the middle of it. The effect is made even stronger by the fact that in the dominant media " the making aspect" should be concealed as much as possible. Viewers should not notice anything of the presence of cameras or of editing.

The analytical set of notions should, therefore, be extended with notions like trueness, realness, directness, authenticity, illusion, and levels of reality. These levels of reality are related to the extent to which formal means are used to interfere and *mise en scène* is used. At the one end of the "reality-scale" there will be the registrations of reality as it can be observed. At the other end there will be programmes in which the visual image is central, i.e., the image as an aesthetic stimulus.

In between are programmes like shows and quizzes which are realities created just for the benefit of the media, and, of course, narrative fiction programmes.

3. *Programme formulas*

A programme formula is a conventional recurring system around which programmes are structured and given form. As such it is recognizable to the public and the producer.

The medium of TV uses programme formulas a great deal and has produced many specific formulas. Some well-known formulas are those of TV series with genres like the soap opera, the situation comedy, family series, and police series, but entertainment shows, quizzes, the news and sports programmes have a fixed formula as well. Insight into the formula character and knowledge of the most important formulas are part of the analytical equipment. This involves the ability to discern similarities and differences between and in certain applications of formulas, for example, *Hill Street Blues* versus *Miami Vice* versus *Der Alte*.

Working with formulas is also present in the serial character of media programmes. We all are familiar with the "endless" TV serial, the story of which is continued in the next episode, and the series, consisting of rounded-off stories per episode. The characteristics of series and formula programmes influence the viewing attitude and behaviour of the public. To many people watching TV is an almost daily ritual. The formulas, whether or not in combination with fixed programming, give TV its familiar position exactly in line with the expectations one has taught oneself about this medium.

4. *The relationship between message and public*

Most media programmes offer the viewer an understandable and accessible world. Like the arts, they offer the public aesthetic experiences and symbols. These experiences and symbols in their turn function within the framework of the ideas and experiences of the viewers themselves. To large groups in society, however, the traditional arts are totally inaccessible and beyond comprehension.

On the other hand, the media, and especially TV, produce a whole range of images, representations, and symbols which have a meaning and a function to large groups of people. The makers use an iconography and code system which coincides with the one used by the general public.

Media give the viewers the opportunity to "participate" in what happens in the world around them. In the "endless" series the viewers really feel involved in the events taking place in a family like those in *Dynasty* or *Dallas* as if it is a family living somewhere further down their street. People know the characters, their backgrounds, their relationships. They go through the same experiences only in a more intensified form and there is an open end just like in the viewers' own lives.

Important notions in this analysis category are the public to be reached, the common iconography, taste, conventions, expectations, and the functioning of media programmes.

Other starting points

The aesthetic approach uses some other characteristic starting points for media education:

- Media education is not presented as explaining "tricks" or revealing a mock reality. Media education starts from the fascination with the media and the way they work. More knowledge of the aesthetics of the audiovisual culture adds to the ability to appreciate and enjoy audiovisual products as products with a clear form.
- Media education is not limited to one kind of programme but involves all kinds of programmes. All-round analytical skills can only be based on examples from and comparisons between various kinds of programmes. This is because a media expert should be able to judge and appreciate the popular TV series as well as the unconventional art product.
- Creating a balance between maker and viewer automatically involves a method of working in which the student takes up the maker's position. "Putting the student in the chair of the maker" is a feasible method. This does not mean handing out video cameras to the students and having them make their own programmes. This generally means taking the long way to reach one's goals. Making a programme yourself is a complex process, involving many skills which do not primarily belong to the media educational goals.
  Students might be so absorbed by the process of creating, that the objectives of media education are lost sight of. "In the chair of the maker" means putting the student in the role of the maker in simulated production situations. These situations are structured in such a way that students acquire the intended insights, on the basis of new knowledge and knowledge which has already been acquired. This is a very direct manner of teaching.

Applications

There are not many practical experiences involving the aesthetic point of view. The educational project "Just Television", is an example of a series of lessons about television with starting points comparable to those of the aesthetic approach.

After a short description of this material I'd like to put forward some proposals for the development of a method for media education, based on the characteristics and contents of the aesthetic approach.

"Just Television" (Gewoon Televisie)

"Just Television" is a completely worked out, implementable teaching project for secondary education. It consists of three parts. The introductory section, part 1, is about the students' own viewing-behaviour. The other two parts are about media contents, part 2 being about the popular TV series, and part 3 being about news and information on TV.

Practically all learning contents can be linked up with the set of aesthetic notions described above. In this method the media product is central and questions are asked about its form, "constructedness", and function.

In the section "The popular TV Series", the TV series is investigated. The question, "What is so attractive about TV series?" is the leitmotiv in the lessons.

In these lessons the students get or rather discover the answers to this question. Together these answers are an inventory of the formal and content related means the maker uses to fascinate as many people as possible.

The most important learning concepts are related to the story line, narrative principles, and the programme formula. Important principles are tension, dramatization, plot, characters and stereotypes, locations, environment, and the relationship between programme and reality. These elements are not dealt with as separate entities but always as related to the motives of the maker and the effect on the public.

The method used puts the student in the chair of the maker and gives him/her the assignment of the step-by-step designing of an episode for a popular TV series. This simulation process is structured into several stages, each centering around one specific learning concept.

In each phase the student has to choose from several possibilities. He has to make decisions as if he were the maker. Thus it is not the choice itself that is important but the reasons and motives behind a specific option. These decisions are made on the basis of often latently present knowledge and new information from the teaching materials itself. This information concerns factors relating to the viewer such as interests, conventions, visual language, and taste, and factors on the maker's side such as the public to be reached and profits to be made.

The results, i.e., choices, motives, and contents, are first compared in the group and, afterwards with the choices and motives of the "real" makers. This method which allows students to take part of the maker aims at a direct and active introduction to the aesthetics of media products.

In the News section the method of working is more or less the same. The structure of the lessons follows the route the news has to take, from an event in reality to the result as it is shown on TV.

The previous section emphasized the narrative structure and the formulas of TV series. In this part the emphasis is on the formal aspects of picture and sound which play a role in producing and controlling meaning.

The knowledge about the interventions a maker has at his command and the formal possibilities of picture and sound should function as basis to be mobilised when watching informative programmes. Questions such as "Why was it made like this? or Why was this particular option chosen?" come to mind.

In this section simulation is used as well. The student investigates possibilities from the maker's side. Again attention is paid to the relationship between form, maker's intention, and desired effect on the viewers.

For example, in one of the lessons the students make a comparative analysis of two different documentaries on the same theme such as the deployment of cruise missiles in Holland. As to the selection and contents of the pictures the following assignment is given:

-Description of formal element:

In both films you will find the same topics --Hiroshima and a protest camp in England. Look at the pictures. What are the differences between both films as far as selection and content of pictures is concerned?

-Effect:

What is the effect? Do the films leave you with a different impression of the protest camp and what is the difference in effect with the pictures of Hiroshima?

-Objective:
What are the reasons for the differences in choice and content of pictures between both programmes? Try to find a third example in both programmes and try to find out why the pictures differ here (Gewoon Televisie, 1985).

Talking back to the media

Evaluative research yields a positive picture of "Just Television" (Evaluation 1987). Students say that they watch television differently, which does not neccesarily mean that their pleasure in watching TV has diminished. It is useful to continue on the road taken, the central concept being media aesthetics and the working method being "putting the student in the maker's chair".

Video art provides the perspective for a new application yet to be developed, namely, "Talking back to the media with the media". This was the title of a video art manifestation in which video artists commented on the media on the video screen. They mainly used pictures which had been put on screen previously. This method of working may serve as a model for a creative form of media education based on aesthetics. The media themselves provide the material, the means, and the method. The variety of pictures from the media is the source. From these pictures the student creates his own answer to the media. All that is needed is copy or editing equipment. With this equipment the student can select pictures, rearrange and combine them, and give them a different soundtrack. The transformation assignments and collage techniques used in arts and advertising education are comparable forerunners of these methods. There are some video groups and artists who have made a rather unexpected use of this form, for example, the English "scratch video artists". Their products may serve as an example and a source of inspiration.

Media education becomes "audiovisual play" with the media. It is a process of demythologizing and creating new myths at the same time; it is stripping the media of their reality aspect by creating one's own media reality.

By using these interventions the student learns in a self-discovering and playful manner how audiovisual communication works, what the formal elements are. He unveils the constructedness and especially the formulas and codes.

This is because in his analysis the student first of all has to unveil the code and the constructedness of the media before being able to make any intervention at all. This also accounts for the way in which we experience the media and the effect it has on us.

One first has to find out what, for instance, a given picture sound combination does to one's feelings in order to be able to transform it and make it lose its power.

The reverse is possible as well by creating picture sound sequences with a high emotional appeal. In the most extreme cases students devise their own "language" and make their own new product from the pictures which are already available.

In this method media education is more than just a rational analytical approach. The analysis goes hand in hand with practical application, and a creative play with the mechanisms of the media. Central to the activities are the pupils themselves.

Apart from analytical insight into the media, this active form will stimulate awareness of the qualities and possibilities of the visual image, which in its turn is essential for the chances of a visual culture going beyond the narrative film and commercial photograph.

As of yet there are no practical experiences as far as the method, "Talking back to the media", is concerned, first of all curricula and suitable teaching materials will have to be made, based on research and practical experiments, aesthetic notions being the guideline for learning contents. The example below contains a rough draft for a series of lessons about 'Talking back to the media'. It gives a concrete impression of how the series might be set up and worked out and might serve as a starting point for practical experiments.

Phase 1

Discovering aesthetic principles and means of expression of picture and sound.

Here are short assignments for discovering the separate aesthetic principles and means of expression, at the same time practising the various "editing techniques":

- -changing the meaning by inserting another picture
- -changing the meaning by using another sound/text
- -recording comments to the pictures or give an explanation about the construction of the programme (on audiotape)
- -editing a whole row of politicians, experts, TV personalities and presenters, addressing the viewer.

In the next step the students make sequences of picture and sound trying to reach certain effects such as:

-boredom
-excitement
-curiosity
or they try to put exciting shots next to unattractive ones.

Phase 2

Programme formulas

The most common kinds of programmes are screened for their characteristic formulas and codes in order to break and expose them by means of interventions and transformations like enlargement, repetition, opposition, and mixing with other pictures. Assignments serve as a guideline in these activities, for example:
-"news becomes entertainment..."
-"live-audiences as canned applause..."
-"stereotypes in series..." and
-selling a politician/political party (not much different from selling cat food).
Working out these assignments requires specially selected visual material, in accordance with the assignments. Suitable sources for possible assignments are commercials, news items, current affairs, pop videos because of their relatively short length, parts of shows, quizzes, and TV series.

The function of the assignments is to aim the activity effectively towards the desired objective, leaving enough room for student creativity and ideas. The attractiveness of the method is in the unknown, the unpredictable, making discoveries and making one's own creations.

Phase 3

A product "of one's own"

In this phase the starting point is the idea of the student for a product of his own. The existing visual material is stripped of its original context and meaning and is given quite a different meaning in the new context. The availability of the material might set its limitations. It would be most convenient for the idea to rise directly from the available visual material.

If not, suitable material must be found, which can either be done effectively on the basis of the idea or may mean a random search in the sheer endless number of pictures.

Working with a fixed stock of visual material has the advantage of people knowing the material which makes it possible to work efficiently. Basically the possibilities are endless, the only real boundaries being one's own creativity and imagination. Of course, the basis is the knowledge of audiovisual media aesthetics. Using aesthetics this way, creating meanings is a process contributing largely to the birth of the "expert", or critical viewer mentioned above.

Video editing equipment is not yet a common thing in all schools. Until then the possibilities of this method are still limited. However, it is to be expected that in the near future schools will have more than one recorder with editing and copying facilities.

If education decides in favour of media education, then it must provide the necessary means just as it does for other school subjects.

Note:

For information concerning the curriculum in Holland for Social Studies (Maatschappijleer) one may address oneself to:

Secretariaat
Katholieke Universiteit Brabant
Hogeschoollaan 225
Postbus 90153
5000 LE Tilburg
The Netherlands
t.a.v. Structuurcommissie eindexamen Maatschappijleer

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Gawelti, John G. (1985), "With the Benefit of Hindsight", *Popular Culture Criticism 2*. Critical Studies in Mass Communication 2.

S.E.F.T. (1986), *Screen* 27:5, London. This is a thematic issue entitled, "Pedagogy -- Critical Accounts of Media Education". In this issue three standard works on media studies are discussed:

Annette Kuhn's *The Power of the Image*, J.Hartley's *Making Sense of the Media*, and L.Masterman's *Teaching the Media.*

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MACHINES COME LATER:

THE BASICS OF AUDIOVISUAL MASS MEDIA EDUCATION (1)

by Peter van Stapele

> Is this a film? Is it an outline for a script? No. It is a dream. But it can be transformed into a film. Then the dream comes through.

In this article I will discuss what I have come to see as the main issues of audiovisual mass media education (2), an education for which machines are *not* a primary requisite. The aim of audiovisual mass media education is to learn to perceive, describe, interpret, value, produce, and communicate meaning through the use of pictures and sounds. On this basis we can design curricula for audiovisual mass media education and enter other areas of study and practice in related fields of education. What is important is that we learn to use technological extensions like film and television to create narrations (3).

In this article I will confine myself to what, in my opinion, is the essence of audiovisual mass media education on the level of what could be taught. This is meant to be a basis for the development of curriculum and methodology. Curricula cannot be developed directly from it. For this more theory is needed which I will not be able to describe in this article for reasons of length.

Back to basics

The *Introduction* to this special issue on 'Audiovisual Mass Media and Education' (pp 7-10) is a rationale for the development of audiovisual mass media education. I will, therefore, in the present article deal with the "what" of such an education and only sometimes touch the question of the "how".

In the past three years I have found myself in situations which forced me to rethink the basics of audiovisual mass media education, having been asked to organize workshops in my field of education for teachers and community workers who have no access to any audiovisual machinery in their working situations whatsoever. The first time that this happened proved to be the most challenging one. I was completely unprepared, not having expected such a request. The occasion came when I was visiting two friends who work in an education services centre for a community in a slum area in Colombo, Sri Lanka. I felt embarrassed and I hesitated for quite a long time because I had never worked under the conditions with which the teachers and community workers there are confronted daily. When I expressed my feelings the basic challenge was formulated as follows: "Think about the essence of what you want to teach and why that is so. If you have formulated what makes your education that what it essentially is, you are able to teach it in all circumstances." I found out that they were right. Rather than reporting here on that experience and on similar experiences I want to discuss what I have come to see as the main issues of audiovisual media education on a more abstract level. There are means of developing a basic curriculum without the use of expensive machinery. In fact, the use of such machinery could even be a barrier to learning, distracting learners from what I think should be the main road: *learning to observe, interpret, value, and create narations through the use of pictures and sounds.*

Preparing for the workshop in Colombo I became aware that the essence of most machines used in audiovisual mass media education (such as a camera, a projector or a player/recorder and a monitor) is to make and show "film" as a series of sequences of *animated* pictures (stills), which themselves represent realities *inanimatedly*. Thus conceived it was relatively easy to change the disadvantage of not having such machines into a situation in which there is an advantage of challenging learners, including myself, to develop and use other techniques, above all the imagination, to produce "moving pictures" with other means.

Pictures can be made or found in almost all circumstances with or without the use of photography. This is also the case with narrations. Humans are also able to produce all kinds of sound including speech directed towards the ears and psyche of the members of an audience. One needs machinery to reach the masses and to receive such communication. Machinery, however, is not necessary to learn the basic thing: the use and organization of image and sound in narrative. Learning this should precede studying and practicing the audiovisual mass media proper. The basis for such an education is what most humans already learn, in all circumstances, through play and many other activities: using signs in perceiving, interpreting, valuing, and creating realities (representations of realities/meanings).

By "reality" I mean a "piece" of what exists and can exist outside and inside us as we (can) perceive it and even as we want to see or transform it, including, for example, phantasies and dreams. For this reason I prefer to avoid metaphors like "window" or "mirror", or, for that matter, any metaphor or concept that signifies only external resemblances. Even the word "frame" is misleading if we do not use its technical sense of construction that makes it possible to organize pictorial information into two main categories: "on screen" and "off screen", comparable to the use of sounds, for example, "scoring" and "source" ("on" as well as "off").

The audiovisual mass media's extraordinary capacities for realism (e.g., to let us experience what we see and hear as real) enable *us* to make the impossible possible, the non-present present, the non-existent existent, and the super-natural natural, so to speak. It is this power to create that we should teach and discuss as most important with regard to media education, not for the possibility of deceiving audiences, but because we are dealing with the power to create realities (meanings, objects, situations). It is a matter of combining nature and culture, for example, art. It concerns the quality of being true and the quality of the style of communication rather than realism as such. A representation of a reality can be experienced as very real, however, as when people say: "That is true" or even "That is really true" during a performance in the theatre.

In many films and television programmes, for example, we face the powers of conventions of continuity. Narrations often seem to go on without a break. This phenomenon is not necessarily a reflection of the way we think or dream. The means of communication through audiovisual mass media are pictures, sounds, and movements in time, which can be studied in theory and in practice in almost any conceivable way, educationally and scientifically. All this is important in the first place with regard to ourselves. We are more complicated and sophisticated than any possible machine, and we are able to make and perceive, to interpret, value, and interact, and to create realities. To learn to understand this, the basic part of audiovisual mass media education should be highly analytical as well as creative, especially with regard to the matter of continuity and discontinuity in order to become fully conscious of the fact that media messages are constructed and how they are constructed.

One of the methods to realize this aim is to defamiliarize existing structures of media messages, especially the identity of image and sound, to generate a heightened awareness of the devices and techniques that are used as well as those which could possibly be used to construct messages. This method is simular to Bertolt Brecht's idea of *Verfremdung*, alienation.

The main characteristic of the education I am discussing in this article is that teachers and learners are challenged to become mediators between realities and audiovisual representations. To put in a more technical and abstract sense they must become direct mediators between referents and signs of systems of image and sound. The aim is to learn to perceive, interpret, value, and to produce and communicate meanings through the use of pictures and sounds related to one another in a structure of imagined movement in time. Continuity is only one of the possibilities of structure.

Pictures and sounds should be studied in separation first for the learners to learn to understand the possibilities of each system. On this basis we can design an outline for a curriculum for audiovisual mass media education, and enter other areas of study and practice in the field of audiovisual mass media, while taking into account the necessary theoretical background.

Pictures

Each individual picture is an inanimated entity, a still, that represents some other reality. It is also possible to relate a picture, or eventually many pictures together, to a narration, i.e., to "see" a narration in it or them. The narration is, then, an object created through the use of pictures. Two pictures together may already suggest continuity (or another time-structure) and movement in a narration. If such an effect materializes, the pictures definitely form an extension from space to time. As soon as we relate pictures to each other in making a narration, the narration itself becomes a reality to us, whether we are makers or viewers. This process has a psychological and a social function. It makes *us* present in the process of creating and communication. On this level of education, learning results can be tested easily. If learners are able to relate pictures to each other, reproducing existing *and* creating new, different structures, which in turn leads to new and different, comprehensible narrations (4), we know that they have an active understanding of the process.

As I have written elsewhere (see *Introduction* and Carson 1988), narrative has always played a fundamental role in human development, historically and individually. Audiovisual mass media education is basically an education in perceiving, describing and analyzing, interpreting, understanding, valuing, and creating narrations with imagined moving pictures together with the use and organisation of sounds, whether fictitious or not. A study of possible narrative and dramatic structures must be part of such an education. This includes the way in which narrations can be structured, either horizontally, e.g., at the level of *plot* (5), or vertically, e.g., at the level of the *relations* between signs of different systems (6). An important question is, how does a narration come into being? My answer is: by structuring everything that is in the narration, especially acts of persons or characters, related to realities, which process can be discussed in terms of signification (semiosis). However, every single narration transcends its structure. That is why we can speak about it and tell it with the use of different sign systems.

Another main territory of audiovisual mass media education is the field of pictures and sounds itself. Pictures are for seeing, looking at, but we are not seeing with our eyes only. There is more than meets the eye that must be considered for us to comprehend the use of pictorial systems. What is important is what makes us look and what we do with what we see, related, for example, to movement, two/three dimensionality, lining, colour, sound, composition.

What I mean has been concisely formulated in an advertizement for David Cronenberg's *Dead Ringers* on the façade of the Odeon Theatre on Leicester Square in London (17. January, 1989) "Cronenberg's invisible special effects -- the best yet, they prefer to creep into the back of your brain rather than knock out your eye." (Edwin Puncey). That is perhaps why such a film can have an emotionally devastating effect and leave you "drained but exhilarated" (Nigel Flood /same advertizement).

Crucial to audiovisual mass media is that pictures suggest framed realities as a result of the framing of representations. This framing of representations of realities can also be learned without the use of machinery. It concerns, again, the organization of information in time and space, related to frames and other contexts, and sounds. One of the advantages of working without machinery first, is that learners are freed from looking upon space as through a window or mirror, almost automatically using the powerful convention of perspective. Instead, there is more freedom to organize space. This can lead to a growing awareness of the possibilities and restraints of perspective. In other words, learners can become aware that frame and perspective can be played with. For example, a certain space can be rendered in many different ways and the space outside the frames is as important as the framed space itself, and it can be framed as well. This is extremely important in order to learn to understand both traditional as well as new technologies and forms of seeing and producing audiovisual products. For example, often if we rearange or deform existing pictures in a creative way, we feel and see our own power to manipulate. This may counter the way messages are manipulating us.

Thus, although we can work with existing pictures, e.g., from illustrated magazines or with photographs, there are at least two advantages to self-production of images. Through learning to frame there is a great freedom in perceiving and selecting, and when we create images that are our own, they are likely to stick in our mind. We need to invest time and energy to develop the skills needed for constructive effort, and the results make the investment worthwhile. Through the process of self-production we increase and deepen our ability of identifying and valuing what we perceive.

Sounds

Some of the basic processing and the functions of giving meaning to signs or creating narrations are identical for pictures and sounds. For example, both pictures and sounds can have a poetic or aesthetic function which focuses on the message itself, e.g., the beauty of it. They differ fundamentally in other aspects, such as means, channels, and codes. It is not possible to treat this subject even superficially in this article. Neither is it neccessary to do so because the distinct nature of sounds as opposed to pictures may become clear through separating the sound track from the 'track' or sequence of images in audiovisual narrations. This will, among other things, reveal that the sound track is not a ready-made system directly identifiable with the sequence of images. It also enables learners to experiment with organizing sounds which may eventually be related to images. It allows them to experience sound-systems as creative forces.

It is probably not possible to establish whether the use of the aural system or the use of the pictorial system is dominant in audiovisual communication. Relations between images and sounds differ from situation to situation. Of course, sound has always been important for the development of the audiovisual mass media. Recorded sound, for example, existed before film proper and played an important role in its development, e.g., the role of

Edison's phonograph in experiments of joining together sounds with moving images.

The study of sound, again, can be done on the level of sources directed to ears and psyche without the use of microphones, modulators, amplifiers, loud speakers, film making or a projecting apparatus. One of the advantages of such an approach is that learners can become aware that the 'sound track' of a narration is an entity that can be produced or analyzed separately from images. Learners can thus free themselves from the power of the convention of unification or merging of sound and image, i.e., the identification of sounds with images which dominates much film and television making. This then may lead to the exploration of other relations between sound and images, e.g., contradiction or the use of silence, and of all the possible functions of sound as a relatively independent set of systems of communication, before synthesizing the two 'tracks' in the production or analysis of a narration.

One of the most instructive and pleasant learning methods, for example, is to play or simulate a 'silent movie' proper, telling a story without sounds and then gradually developing the use of sounds with it as it actually happened in the period of the silent cinema. Silent movies were not silent at all. Live music, sound effects, the master of ceremonies, and speaking behind the screen during a movie-show, all played a role in silent film. It is important to be conscious of the fact that although most audiences at the time of the silent cinema could not hear speech physically, they could hear it mentally, and that it is this what counts. It is important to understand how "speech" was communicated then, through the style of acting in the film and the production of sounds including music during a movie-show. This is important because it is not only the speaking of words which creates speech.

There are many possible methods to teach audiovisual mass media in this way, and there are many more possible subjects and issues that can be studied and practiced. Some of these include pictorial and aural points-of-view; segmentation; découpage; diogesis; manipulation of space and time, e.g., continuity/discontinuity; realism/non-realism, e.g., dream-sequences and surrealism; isolation and intensification of information related to other possibilities of manipulation of information, e.g., hierarchy in complex structures; distribution of information; vertical and horizontal analysis; different layers of meaning, e.g., related to ideology and mythology, and of acts, e.g., illocution and perlocution, for example, what we do by saying something --

question, demand, request, comment, declaration, etc., and the effect of it.

Here we have reached the question of the development of curriculum and methodology. For this it is necessary to describe and discuss more theory which, as explained, cannot be done in the framework of this article. Here I can only sketch an outline for such a development. I hope this may inspire interested readers to find possibilities for further development.

Curriculum

As I have said it is not possible to describe in detail what to put precisely in a curriculum, not only because there is not enough space to describe and discuss the necessary theoretical background, but also because it depends partly on the specific educational situation and the age of the students as well as their starting-level of knowledge and experience. One could start with formulating the main aims for all learners in the field of all audiovisual mass media, as I have tried to do in the *appendix* (see the last part at the end of this article), based on the ideas I have described in this article and in the *Introduction (pp 7-10)*, but without discussing the theories that form the background for such an outline. Only by studying and developing such theories is it possible to subdivide such aims into specific goals and design methods appropriate to a given situation.

Such a list of aims could not possibly be exhaustive and each item deserves ample discussion. Therefore, the given scheme is only the beginning of an action to be continued in the future, an outline written for readers interested in curriculum development. For their possible interest I have also added a list of books and articles for further reading. Using the scheme and the list will depend on interests and questions that readers have and on the theory needed. The scheme is as exhaustive as I could make it, based on the ideas I have discussed in the preceding parts. In my opinion the basics of audiovisual mass media education involve (the study of) creating meaning, which is part of semiosis, the process of signification. This entails the study of acts and meanings, and of the function of signs, codes, and contexts. Such a study can be done on three levels: separate signs; the relation between signs (grammar); and the relation between signs and sign-users (pragmatics) (Leech 1980). Such a subdivision or a simular one is desirable because it enables us to discriminate between different layers and aspects. These, in turn, can be studied separately: signs and relations, and form and meanings. Again, the study of theory is necessary for transforming such a scheme into methods of work. On the other hand I feel that such a scheme can help and inspire people who are interested in curriculum development to find one or more ways into the field of audiovisual mass media education based on their interest and questions, and to take further steps.

These steps could be related to questions of reception, expectation, and pleasure. Having tought/learned the basics we have reached in our education a basis from which we are able to transfer what has been learned to the processes of film and film making and watching and to study and explore audiovisual mass media extensively. This study could relate to aesthetics and technology, history and economics, sociology and psychology, communication/interacting-theory and anthropology, and ideology and mythology. Such a study and exploration will then be a true dialogical education because the learners will have properly equipped themselves for such a task.

Therefore, during the whole learning process relations with contexts should be taught based on questions with regard to communication: Who is producing what for whom for what reasons and with what (possible) effects? Where does the money come from? What is the possible relation between such factors and content and form of the messages? Such questions can be related to what *we* can make ourselves. This gives us the power to create our own contributions in many possible forms. It is necessary to challenge learners to reach the point where they can make challenges themselves.

Conclusions

An education as I have discussed in this article can be the most profound one although it can not replace the learning of film making itself, for example. Film making must also become a part of audiovisual mass media education. More explicitly, as I have written (Carson 1988:104), we should not underestimate the value of the use of machinery in the process of education. Contexts other than those which I am discussing in this article, for example, technology and economics, are important to that subject especially for the countries in the South of the world. The cinematic and televisual apparatus is developing in a context of industrial and commercial enterprise. Its material conditions are created through developments in engineering, electronics and information, chemistry and chemical technology, and the international organization of mass production and distribution as well as industrial and commercial cooperation. That there are countries and people who cannot participate fully in such developments is a matter of injustice which we cannot undo by education alone. However, I think that educators do not need to wait until technology, industry, and economics in their situation have reached a stage of development and sophistication found in centres of highly industrialized countries. As I have discussed in this article it is possible to teach learners most of the basics of audiovisual mass media education without the use of expensive machinery. In a later stage such a learning can be transferred to other processes of producing meaning, including the study, mastering and utilisation of film and television technology when machines are available.

Here at the end of this article I return to the question of the "why" of audiovisual mass media education as formulated in the *Introduction* (pp 7-10).

The power of humans to make can never be replaced by technological extensions. With the use of such extensions, however, people can create and recreate a happy and beautiful world for themselves and others as well as use them destructively. The extensions of film and television themselves are signs of the urge humans have to create life through the rhythmic motion of light and shadow and sound: creating realities to see and hear, of good and evil, creating fear and pleasure, the beauty and the beast.

Notes

(1) I would like to thank Hans van der Meij for his editorial assistance, especially with regard to his detailed comments on content and structure of an earlier version of this article.

(2) By *education* in this article I mean primarily situations of formal education in schools and other educational institutions, although the ideas I am discussing can also be applied to other situations of education, e.g., in the home.

(3) By *narrations* I mean all possible stories in the sense of any account of events, for example acts in succession, irrespective of the question of whether a story is meant to be fictitious or not. Children learn the art of storytelling (through play, etc.) at a very early age, which in my opinion forms an important basis of their entire education, although

they may learn mastering certain modes of narrative, such as complicated forms of instruction, at a later stage than other modes, such as quite sophisticated forms of fiction. I think, for example, that the latter mode is an important basis to learn to master the former mode.

(4) The meaning of the term *comprehensible* depends on context, of course. It does not exclude what people may consider as not comprehensible, like absurd texts, dream sequences, ritualistic uses of signs. For example, a reality created through the performance of a play by Eugene Ionesco may go beyond our understanding or be meant to be "a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing" (Macbeth). This does not mean that such a play or performance is incomprehensible itself.

(5) On this level of study it is very important to analyze the acts (activities) of persons or characters related to action and different contexts, e.g., a whole film; a broadcast company; a society in a given period of time.

(6) By *system* I mean a set of codes (rules, principles *and* conventions) with regard to signs (here of the same sort, e.g., words or gestures).

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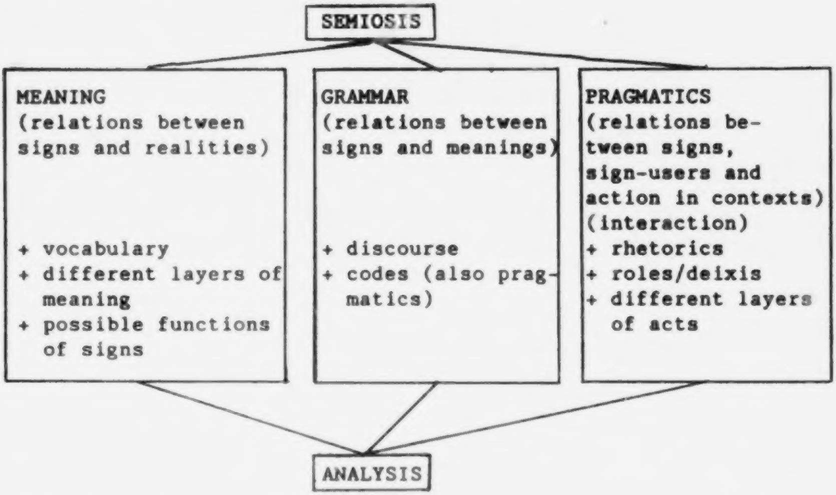
Appendix: Aims of audiovisual mass media education


SEMIOSIS
MEANING
(relations between signs and realities)
+ vocabulary
+ different layers of meaning
+ possible functions of signs
GRAMMAR
(relations between signs and meanings)
+ discourse
+ codes (also pragmatics)
PRAGMATICS
(relations between signs, sign-users and action in contexts)
(interaction)
+ rhetorics
+ roles/deixis
+ different layers of acts
ANALYSIS

(the lines between the different areas mean that all are interrelated)

EXPLANATION OF TERMS (most elements and aspects are treated in Elam 1980 and Helbo 1987)

semiosis (Barthes 1981; Eco 1979)
processes of signification, interpretation and valuing in using signs; dialectics between signs, sign-users and situations (contexts), and between discourse and reality; communication and interaction (including reception).

vocabulary (Lovell 1983; Weis and Belton 1985)
lexicon with regard to pictures and sounds, especially on the level of play and analysis in areas like: composition; frame; movement; two/three dimensionality; lining; colour; volume; frequence; repetition; accent; rhythm.

different layers of meaning (Barthes 1982)
e.g., ambiguity; literal meaning/ ideas and myths; denotation and connotation.
possible function of signs (Pomorska and Rudy 1985)

referential (cognitive, denotative, ideational); phatic (contact); conative (appellative); emotive (expressive); poetic; meta-communicative (e.g., about elements of discourse); ritualistic.

discourse on the level of grammar (see also codes)
structural relations between signs of the same system and of different systems, e.g., pictorial and aural; arrangements; hierarchy of signs in complex structures; manipulation of space and time, e.g. horizontal and vertical analysis (for example, relation between signs used simultaneously, complementary, contradictory).

codes (Eco 1979)
rules, principles, conventions, related to fiction, for example: reference with regard to (intended) spectators/listeners, e.g., the use of signs in play and the theatrical, cinematic or televisual code, presuming that the 'audience' (partly) knows and understands the code.

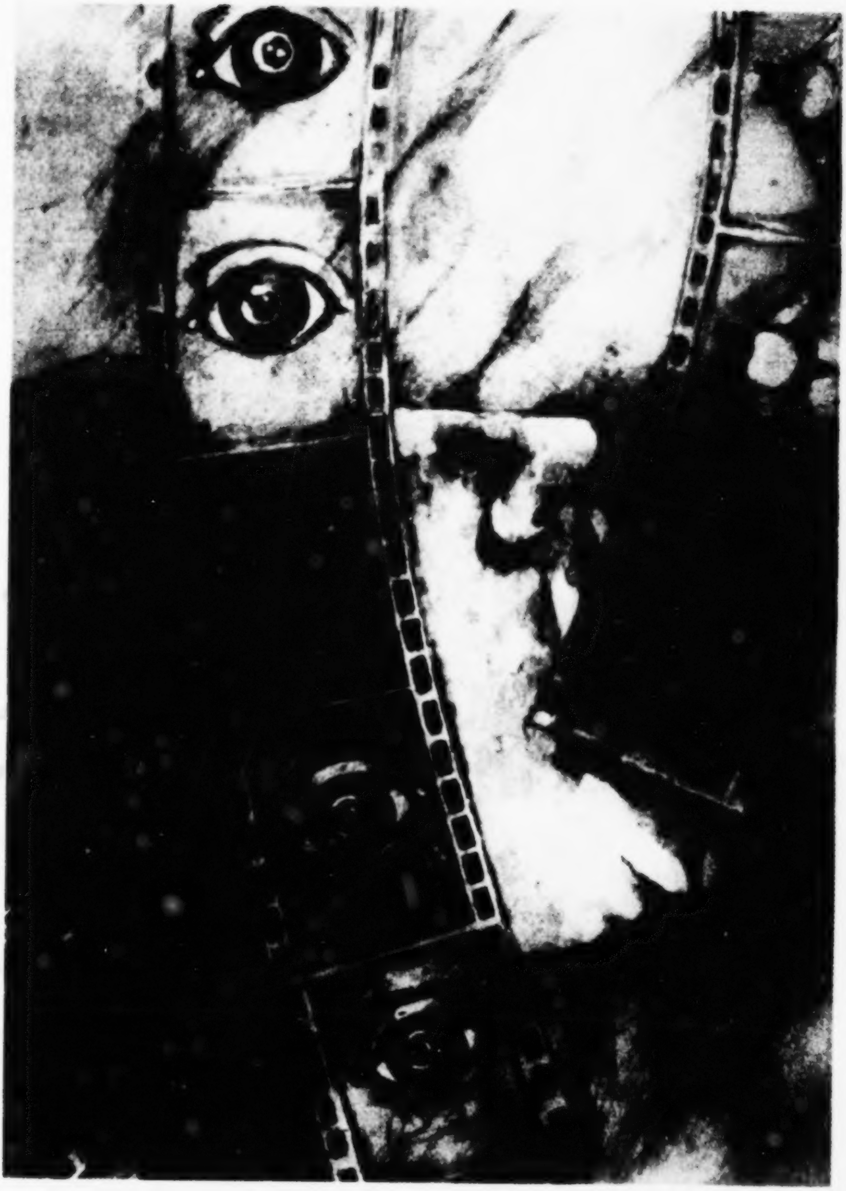
rhetorics (examples in Elam 1980, passim)
strategies in manipulating meanings to influence spectators/listeners.

rôles/deixis (Elam 1980, pp. 137 - 148; Van Stapele 1989; Sutton 1989) especially the interchangeability of 'I' and 'You' in (dramatic) discourse, relations between characters, and relations to time and space.

different layers of acts (Elam 1980, esp. pp. 156 - 170; Sutton 1989) locution (propositional level), illocution, and perlocution.

analysis
using the apparatus of terms mentioned above which can be applied to pictures and sounds separately as well as to the analysis of film and television. Such analysis is a further step in audiovisual mass media education.

In all circumstances such an education contains the study of aural and/or pictorial codes with regard to media messages. For example, the study of advertizing in newspapers or through radio broadcasting. Students may make their own messages, e.g.: manipulating photos from magazines; preparing and obtaining an interview with a producer; writing an essay on discoveries; criticism through caricature or persiflage; replacing boring or dishonest ways of production by new, surprising ones on simular subjects. This may include the writing of scripts, the making of 'shooting' lists or story boards, for example, for news items, reflecting the importance of selection and opinions, and the fact that reporting news is a matter of storytelling for an audience (which may lead to the study of effects and/or the production of a programme or film).



ON BECOMING A CINEPHILE:

A THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF FILM TASTE

by

Ed S.H. Tan, Leopold J.M. Eggermont, Petronella D.M. Joosten

1. Introduction

There is a distinction that runs through all cultural domains of expression that many an educator would prefer to get rid of, but cannot help facing from time to time. A novel is called "literary" or "trivial" ("pulp"), a piece of music may be "classical" ("serious") or "popular" ("light"), paintings are "art" or "kitsch", theatre shows "art" or "entertainment" and films too are "art" or "popular". The wealth of terms to choose from if one is forced to use the distinction reflects not only differences among the various media, but also allows for the toning down of its depreciatory colouring. For in all cases we could also simply speak of "high" vs. "low" culture products, or for that matter of Good and Bad.

That a value judgement is hidden behind the terms is illustrated by the fact that there are less names for the "good" than for the "bad" side, which apparently is in need of euphemistic circumscription. And this is precisely what causes the educator's uneasiness or embarrassment with and reluctance to using the distinction.

What is "good" or "bad" is of course a matter of taste. And taste, or preference for a certain set of products, is an individual matter only to a limited degree. Taste groups are collectives of individuals sharing a pattern of preferences. Just as products of culture can be ranked from "high" to "low", so can their taste groups, as was already pointed out by Lynes (1955). The ranking itself is done by a cultural elite. Therefore, membership of "high" taste groups is attractive, in that it has a positive social significance; it lends "distinction", as Bourdieu calls it (1984, 1979).

The account of taste sketched above raises some questions concerning educational goals. Most educators will, as members of "higher" taste groups agree on the desirability of upward mobility in taste. That is, education should facilitate the development of preferences for "high art".

However, this objective can be criticized on several grounds. For example, it may be seen as a form of striving toward cultural "hegemonism", an elite enforcing its aesthetic ideology upon a group that is represented as an underdeveloped mass. (cf. Swinglewood 1977).

Another objection is that the feasibility of "elevating" taste can be questioned. Preferences for cultural products are perhaps not amenable to change. More specifically, the habits of participating in "higher" or "lower" forms of culture may be shaped early in life by the home environment and therefore "resistant" to influences from formal education in the case of "lower" taste. (cf., e.g., Hantrais & Kamphuis 1987).

Both objections hinge on a conception of what taste exactly is. For instance, the cultural "hegemonism" argument assumes that one taste is *replaced* by another, implying more or less that a given set of preferences cannot be *extended* by new ones. And the cultural background argument, on the other hand, implies that taste is a cluster of behaviours slightly akin to ritual, rather than something like an elaborate system of cognitions and attitudes. And only the latter can be taught in formal education. Of course, many more criticisms can be and have been raised against the attempt to "improve" taste by way of education. The point we wish to make is that the debate would gain in precision if the concept of taste is clarified. More specifically, we are in need of a theory of taste that is specific enough to shed light on the possible contributions of goal-directed education efforts to preference for certain types of film.

The aim of this article, therefore, is to analyze what the structure of taste for film is. In particular we shall try to define taste in terms of properties of its object, film as a medium. It will be argued that "high" taste is different from "low" taste, in that deviations from a body of current norms as to identifiable properties of films are accepted and preferred. Our approach will be opposed to the view of "high" taste as a form of snobbery, or showing off in the first place. Norms and deviations, and the attitudes that they are the object of, are "filmaesthetical" in nature and can be identified empirically, as will be shown. This implies that formal education can, in principle, contribute in a systematic fashion to the appreciation of "art" films.

The structure of the article is as follows. First, we will define the difference between "popular" and "art" film, using concepts from film theory. We proceed by distinguishing two operationalizations of taste. Sophistication, or well-considered and enthusiastic use of film is a surface operationalization [sic], whereas "cinephilia", or preference for norm deviating films is a deep one. Next, results of an empirical validation of cinephilia are presented. Finally, the results of the empirical research and the implications for film education are discussed.

2. The film continuum

The degree to which an artefact is a work of art depends on what is defined as "art". The Russian formalists (cf., e.g. Ehrlich 1973) point at "defamiliarization" as an essential characteristic. "Art" adds qualities to a stimulus which interrupt established perceptual and cognitive routines in the beholder. Stated differently, such qualities involve deviations from a "norm". In the history of art norms are continuously violated and replaced by new ones.

This formalist point of view is a critical element in Bordwell's (1985) comprehensive account of narration in the fiction film. Our proposal concerning the properties of "art" films will be based in large part on Bordwell's theoretical insights. The process of narration determines the film's form, that is the systematic interaction of its elements in plot and style systems. Typical differences between groups of films, according to the narration theory, can be captured by the concept of "modes of naration". A mode of narration is characterized by a body of norms concerning properties as diverse as plot characteristics, treatment of space and time, and use of stylistic devices.

Bordwell distinguishes five modes of narration. The *classical mode* is adhered to in the traditional Hollywood film. Some features of this mode are the following. Action progress is governed by causality, represented by psychologically defined, intentionally acting agents. Linearity and chronological ordering of story events prevail in plot construction, while ambiguity of time and space is avoided. Extrinsic, i.e. generic, norms regulate the use of style media. Very roughly summarized, classical narration attracts only minimal attention toward itself. The fictional world is shown through a transparent medium. Whenever attention is drawn to the medium, this is motivated by well-known genre conventions. Hence, the viewer's activity is, and this should be stressed, relatively automatized.

The remaining modes of narration are characterized by norms that differ more or less from classical narration, in ways that will be dealt with later. They include the *art cinema* (in a stricter sense than used before), *the parametric, the historical materialist*, and *Godard's* modes of narration. Again, as a very crude generalization, non-classical narration involves defamiliarization; in approaching the art extreme of the film continuum, narration conforms more to intrinsic or local norms.

Modes of narration represent historical phenotypes. That is, they are not meant to be exhaustive, in the sense of: sufficient, for the categorization of all conceivable narrative films. Still the definition of classical narration as a kind of baseline mode is a robust element of Bordwell's theory that can be put to use for our purpose. It is the mode of narration that the typical film viewer is most acquainted with, for a number of reasons. To begin with, the supply of Hollywood films has been dominant in Western culture for a few decades. Furthermore, the classical mode of narration has its roots in a broader and older tradition of story telling: it "conforms most closely to the "canonic story" which story comprehension researchers posit as normal for our culture." (Bordwell 1985:157)

In line with this argument, we propose to conceive of a theoretical continuum of films ranging from Classical Cinema on the one extreme to "Art Cinema" on the other. Any given film may be thought to occupy a position nearer to the Art Cinema extreme, to the degree that the norms that it "obeys" are more deviant from the classical mode.

It should be noted that the conception of such a film continuum rests upon a simplification of Bordwell's theory. A dichotomy is introduced between classical and non-classical norms, overlooking the variety of forms among the non-classical modes of narration. It may be, for instance, that parametric films, on the average, contain more and larger transgressions of the classical norms than, say, historical materialist ones. It is assumed that in actual scaling of films, norms can be weighted according to a schema similar to that of the various modes. However, this is not very relevant for our purposes. It suffices that we can, in principle, rank films from "classical" to '"art", depending on the total amount of systematic transgression of classical norms, taken as a simple sum.

Finally, it is important to note that although the classical period of the cinema is over, recent films can still be said to either conform largely to classical norms, or, on the contrary, to systematically transgress these norms. (For a defense of the view that classical style can be said to have been maintained and varied in the last two decades, cf. Bordwell & Staiger 1985:368ff.)

3. *Two taste continua*

"Taste" for certain films, as defined by the film continuum, can be conceived of at two levels of psychological analysis, a behavioural one, and a molecular, cognitive one. At the *behavioral level*, a set of typical film related behaviours can be identified, along with a number of motives for attending films or expected gratifications and a global attitude towards the Art film.

Film related behaviours reflect the role that film plays in the viewer's life. Frequency of visits to the cinema is of course a major index of stable interest, but in isolation it does not reveal very much about the sort of film that one prefers. The regularity of visits to movie arthouses is a lot more telling in this respect.

Also very important is *information that is gathered by the viewer* and the accessibility of that information. Written materials concerning the aesthetic qualities of certain films, such as analyses in dedicated film periodicals are harder to get and require more effort in using than trailer shows on television, to give an example. The spectator preferring classical narration does not need to seek for a great deal of information concerning the aesthetic qualities of films, since they can be appreciated using knowledge that is universally shared in Western culture. The more films of a particular spectator's choice deviate from classical norms, and from any other body of norms, the more likely will he or she be interested to learn from educated opinions that enrich his or her understanding and enjoyment.

The gratifications that a spectator typically receives from his or her *reasons for attending* a film are likewise dependent on the position that preferred movies occupy on the film continuum. (cf. Möller & Karppinen 1983) A typical Art film is enjoyed for its own sake or for the medium's sake, at least relative to the typical classical one. A classical film may or may not minimally defamiliarize the viewer, and is, therefore enjoyed for what it represents, again relative to the typical Art film. It is more likely that the pleasant experience afforded by it could about as well have been brought about by other films or perhaps even by completely different stimuli.

Film enthusiasm refers to a global attitude towards the Art film. Viewers can like or reject to some degree filmtypes scaled on either end of the continuum. For instance, those who like Art films often find popular films repelling and subscribe to the cinematic version of the art-for-art's-sake creed. The attitude is global in that it does not tell us anything specific about what is valued in films of a more "popular" or "art" type.

In sum, film related behaviour, motivation for attendance and enthusiasm toward Art films are related to film preference, because of a global property of narrative films, i.e. the degree to which they are processed and enjoyed as autonomous artefacts. This surface operationalization of taste will be called *viewer sophistication*, and hence, we can conceive of a viewer sophistication continuum which -literally- parallels the film continuum defined in the previous section.

In contrast, at a molecular level of analysis, taste is a system of attitudes towards specific film properties. The film theoretical concept of norm has a cognitive psychological counterpart. First, norms or sets of rules pertaining to film properties are recognized by the viewer as a result of various processes like concept formation, categorization and inductive reasoning, the details of which we cannot discuss here. Obviously, deviations from norms are also recognized, and they may be more salient to the viewer, who is forced to cope with them in one way or another, as the Formalist view wants it. Subsequently, deviations may be liked or not. It is assumed that for each norm that the viewer knows, he or she holds an attitude either a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards transgression of that norm. (For the sake of clarity: we can speak of attitudes towards a norm and attitudes towards deviation from it. To complicate matters further: A deviation from a given norm may itself become a norm.)

For example, one of the classical norms is continuity of movement direction. A shot showing a character walking from left to right in a room, cannot be followed immediately by a shot which apparently reverses movement direction, showing the character walking from right to left, provided of course that the shots contain one uninterrupted action sequence. We assume, then, that viewers differ with respect to attitudes towards this norm. Some viewers do not like transgression of it, whereas others do or are indifferent.

The example given was simple and straightforward. Of course, more complex classical norms can be identified in films and be "shared" by viewers. Properties of film may interact within norms. Norms, no matter whether they be classical or otherwise may consist of properties which are conditionally related. For instance, if a sequence represents a character's dream, then some temporal and spatial ambiguity is normal. Some norms may be overruled by others, e.g. generic ones. The viewer often has tacit knowledge of these complications. However, the aim of this article is not to spell out all sorts of norms and their relationships. The point we wish to make is that film viewers have knowledge of classical norms and hold attitudes towards them.

At this point it should be remembered that the number of transgressions of classical norms tends to increase if we move up the film continuum towards the Art extreme. In parallel, lovers of the Art film have more positive attitudes toward deviation from the classical norm, either because they know alternative norms, or because they have procedural knowledge available which helps in overcoming interruptions that occur when an alternative cannot be found more or less instantly.

The cognitive taste continuum will be referred to as the *Cinephilia continuum* since on the non-classical extreme we find those viewers ranked who value local norms most highly,that is norms that are valid only within one film, or even one part of a film. Bordwell shows that in "extreme Art films", like Godard's, the viewer has to reconstruct the process of creation of the product, almost from one moment to the next. This can only be appreciated by the true cinephile. Here, then, norms are as short-lived and as exclusively locally valid as possible it would seem.

In summary, three scales or continua were defined. The *cinephilia continuum* represents the degree to which a viewer prefers non-classical norms or violations of classical norms, which pertain to specific film properties. The *sophistication continuum* represents a more superficial liking for "Art" films expressed by behaviours, motives, and attitudes which are only indirectly linked to specific film properties. The *film continuum* reflects the extent to which films conform to the classical mode of narration.

It stands to reason that cinephilia is the more interesting operationalization of taste, not only from an educator's point of view, but also for theoretical reasons, since it is more directly associated with film characteristics, i.e., more with norms and deviations than with sophistication. Stated more precisely, the relation between sophisticated film viewing manners and preference for Art vs. Classical films can only be understood by assuming that it is mediated by knowledge and appreciation of specific film characteristics.

For example, information seeking behaviour has knowledge and appreciation of specific film characteristics as an aim and both film enthusiasm and attendance motivation must likewise be linked to specific film characteristics. More generally, cinephilia as conceived of here is more interesting in explaining preference because it gives the most detailed explanation and one which takes the characteristics of the object of preferences into account. Sophistication, in contrast, can be a more or less superficial orientation, although it is not necessarily so. It is, in principle, more amenable to snobbery: it looks good and it feels good to have a different taste. It is an orientation that tends to generalize across various domains of culture, described by many. Williams (1983:313-14) points out that "taste" used to refer to "feel, touch and understanding" of specific and concrete objects, but from the eighteenth century on became associated with "Good Taste", "separated from the human senses", and "compromised with ... conformity to an external habit". And Bourdieu (1984, 1979) argues that sophisticated taste has a function, i.e. to distinguish oneself from "the groups closest [to oneself] in social space with whom the competition is most direct and most immediate" (1984:60).

For all these reasons, the empirical research that will be reported in this article, focuses on cinephilia. We shall try to show that cinephilia contributes its own share to preference for Art films which is independent from sophistication and general education.

4. Validation study

4.1. Hypotheses

In order to validate the theoretical construct of cinephilia we have to show three things empirically.

First, the unidimensionality or internal consistency of the cinephilia construct must be demonstrated. It is pointless to speak of a continuum, unless a single dimension can be shown to exist, which underlies the observed indices of cinephilia. (Hypothesis 1).

Second, it has to be shown, that cinephilia as a set of aesthetic attitudes towards specific film characteristics or norms is associated with sophistication as a set of global attitudes, motives and behaviour with respect to the Art film. The position of any viewer on the cinephilia continuum should be predictive of his or her position on the sophistication continuum. (Hypothesis 2).

Third, if the cinephilia construct as we measure it is a valid index of taste, positions on the cinephilia scale should have predictive value for preference for specific films and film genres covering various regions of the film continuum. (Hypothesis 3). Preference will be considered the main criterion for the validity of our measurement of cinephilia.

In addition, we expect that the relationship between the cinephilia continuum and film preference will be found stronger than the one between sophistication and film preference for reasons that were mentioned at the end of section 3. (Hypothesis 4).

Finally, as in all validation research, the relations obtained should not be explained by other variables. It is hypothesized that cinephilia is related to preference for Art films independently from education. In addition, cinephilia is more specific than sophistication and therefore we hypothesize that cinephilia influences film preference independently from both education and sophistication. (Hypothesis 5)

4.2. Method

The method employed in the experiment is only concisely described here. (For a more detailed report see Tan, Eggermont & Joosten 1989.)

4.2.1 Instrument

a. Measurement of Sophistication

Sophistication, as said before, consists of frequency of visits to the cinema, information seeking behaviour, motivation for attendance to film and global attitude towards or enthusiasm for the Art film. In referring to variables, the first letter of the variable names will be capitals, in order to avoid confusion with the corresponding theoretical concept.

Film Frequency was measured by the multiple choice item 'How often, approximately, do you go to the cinema?'

Related to frequency is more specific *Visits to film Arthouses*. This item had to be answered yes or no.

Information Seeking was measured by the following items: "Do you read film reviews or columns in your daily newspaper?", "Do you generally attend to the credits shown at the end of a film?", "Do you read one or more of the following filmperiodicals Filmkrant, Skoop, Skrien, Versus?", "Do you regularly watch one or more of the film magazines on TV?" and "Do you read books on film?". Finally, agreement with the statement "I follow film reviews in the newspapers predominantly to keep informed of the current film offer" had to be indicated on a five-point-scale. The same goes for "It never happens that I go to a film without having read anything about it".

Film Enthusiasm was measured by five-point-rating-scales "Do you often go to the cinema alone?" and the following Likert statements: "If one of the major directors has issued a film, I intend to go to see it", "It happens that I enter the cinema with great expectations, but leave it utterly disappointed', 'Some films I like so much, that I keep thinking about them for days' and "There are films that I can appreciate only upon seeing them for the second time".

Reasons for going to the cinema was measured by presenting subjects with eight reasons for going to the cinema . They included "well-known actors/actresses", "well-known director", "pleasant evening out", "recommendation by friends or relatives", "go along with friends or relatives", "good reviews", "seen fragments on TV", "interest in a special film".

Finally, *Global Attitude towards the Art film* was measured by four statements: "Some films irritate me because they are clearly meant for a tiny incrowd", "Most box office successes are loaded with cheap effects", "In my view a film's merits are independent from its genre" and "Some films that I do not feel attracted to personally, are important for film culture".

b. Measurement of Cinephilia

The measurement of *Cinephilia* is directly derived from its definition in terms of Bordwell's theory of narration.

A list of norms characteristic for each of the five modes of narration was extracted from Bordwell (1985). Norms are related to nine aspects of narration: Thematic Structure (ThS), Plot Structure (PlS), Self Consciousness (SC), Style (St), Treatment of Space and Time (SpT), Characters (Ch), Restriction (R), Point of View (PV) and Ideology (I).

Thematic Structure refers to the subject matter aspects of the narration. It includes, among other things, properties of the theme, characteristics of meaning, and characteristic elements of story and action. To give some examples: classical narration is characterized by unambiguous themes. The action is carried by characters with psychological traits, and has a typical development: A stable situation is interrupted by some disturbance, a struggle ensues and the disturbance is eliminated. However, in parametric narration, "subject matter" may be an abstract theme. Not action, but the dynamics of a stylistic system may be dominant, and some order showing in the system takes the place that meaning has in the classical system. And in historical materialist narration, narrative action is accompanied by rhetorical argument. Subject matter may be studies of the revolution, contemporary problems or the "production novel".

Plot Structure is a category of norms having to do with plot construction features. Classical norms are, e.g., that action sequences are connected by causal links, sequencing of the action is linear, and the end is characterized by closure of all plot lines. In contrast, Godard's mode of narration is comparable with a "collage"; an overt narrator is the organizing center of the plot structure.

Self Consciousness (cf. also Booth 1961) refers to the film's overt appearance as an artefact. Highly self-conscious narration makes itself, the narrator and perhaps the process of film making felt to the audience. In extreme cases the narrator might address the viewer directly. Classical narration is minimally to moderately self-conscious. Norms are extrinsic, that is, self-consciousness is generically determined. There is always at least some minimal motivation found in the action. (The Hollywood musical is an easy point in case.) Style and technique are tied to conventions that highlight fictional action.

Style norms consist of typical, systematic uses of film technical devices. In classical narration, style can often hardly be noticed, as it is subservient to causality of the action, whereas in historical materialist film it is very conspicuous. For instance, in montage non-diegetic inserts are common.

Treatment of Space and Time almost speaks for itself. In classical narration an important norm is that story chronology is respected, whereas in the Art film mode flash-backs and repetitions are frequent, while scenes often cannot be easily localized in time. The same goes for spatial localization of events; in the Art film, some ambiguity is normal, whereas in classical narration it is not.

"Characters" as a set of norms also speaks for itself. The classical character, for instance, is psychologically elaborated and typicaly goal-oriented. In art film narration, however, it is more passive and does not possess unambiguous traits.

Restriction refers to the degree to which information that is available to the narrator at any moment is passed on to the viewer. Restriction ranges from omniscient narration to restriction of knowledge to what one character at any moment knows. (The initiated reader will readily recognize the fact that we have taken together Bordwell's "restrictedness" and "communicativeness".) In the classical mode, the narrator is omniscient and communicative, if we abstract from genre differences. Narration in the art cinema is more restricted, whereas in historical materialist film it is maximally unrestricted, to give a few examples of norms.

Point of view is a term that has numerous denotations. In the context of this article, it refers to norms related to objectivity vs. subjectivity of scenes. Most importantly, clasical narration troubles itself to avoid any ambiguity of the status of scenes in this respect. In the Art film, ambiguity of status is more normal.

Finally, *Ideology* refers to the set of values expressed by the narration, notably optimism vs. pessimism and self-centered vs. external reality-centered. Classical and historical materialist narration tend to emphasize values concerning external reality, whereas art cinema narration and parametric narration express film-centered values.

It should be noted that thematic structure is not discussed under that heading in Bordwell's text. However, subject matter aspects of narration are consistently treated throughout the discussion of all five modes of narration. The same goes for the Character Category. Ideology was added by the researchers since this aspect is often mentioned in the context of film studies dealing with bodies of film (mostly called "genres") comparable to Bordwell's five modes of narration. Furthermore, it is treated in the text implicitly.

The listing of norms served as the basis for writing test items. Test items conformed to the following logical format:

ATTITUDE STATEMENT = LIKE OR DISLIKE (CLASSICAL NORM OR NON-
CLASSICAL NORM)

Each attitude statement, then, consists of a body containing a description of a classical norm or its negation, or a norm that is part of one of the other modes of narration. Thus, NON-CLASSICAL NORMs may, somewhat contrary to the literal meaning of the word, consist of a specific norm that is part of non-classical narration or a less specific negation of a classical norm.

The LIKE or DISLIKE part of the statements was cast into weaker or stronger expressions in order to counteract response-tendencies and to increase the total variance of the test. Some of these were, for instance, "...can have an interesting effect", "I don't like...", "...irritates me". A complete listing of all 68 five-point-rating Cinephilia test items can be found in Appendix A, sorted out according to category of norms.

If a statement expresses either liking for a classical norm, or dislike for a non-classical one (or a negation of a classical norm), complete disagreement was scored as 1 and complete agreement as 5. These statements are indexed as "Low Cinephilia" items in Appendix A.

If a statement expresses either liking for a non-classical norm (or a negation of a clasical norm), or dislike for a classical norm, the item is entered in Appendix A as a "High Cinephilia" item, indexed "-", and complete agreement is scored as 5, complete disagreement as 1.

All this results, if the items are conceived by the respondents as they were meant by the researchers, in a one-dimensional Cinephilia-scale, ranging from 68 times 1 is 68 (Low Cinephilia) to 68 times 5 is 340 (High Cinephilia).

The number of items per subtest, that is per aspect of narration, is roughly proportional to the importance of each of the aspects in Bordwell's theory. Importance had been determined using the number of separate norms discussed in the text under the aspect, summed across all modes of narration, in combination with the "centrality" of the aspect. The latter is a function of the number of norms pertaining to the aspect involved that are somehow related to norms pertaining to other aspects.

c. Measurement of film preference

Finally, the two criterion variables for film taste, the preference indices, were measured as follows. First, subjects had to indicate the two best films they had seen this year. Second, preference for genres had to be indicated by ticking the appropriate items of the following list: comedy film, action/adventure film, crime/espionage/thriller films, serious films (having a message), romantic films, films about human relations, artistic films, historical films, music films/film musicals, family films, westerns, war films, disaster films, horror films, science fiction films, sex/pornographic films, documentaries, other films. The list containing these genre descriptions had been used in previous research (Hekket, 1983) on a large sample representative of the Dutch viewer population and was chosen to facilitate comparisons with this larger sample.

4.2.2. Subjects

The sample used in the experiment was to be composed in such a way that a broad range of preferences for film was ensured. As the proportion of Art film lovers in the population is very low (cf., e.g.,Faasse & Ganzeboom 1986), the idea of a representative sample being drawn was rejected. It should be kept in mind that our study does not aim at describing cinephilia in the population, but merely at validating a theoretical construct empirically.

No subjects having completed only elementary school, with or without supplementary vocational training, were adopted in the sample, since they could be expected to have difficulties in reading test items which in our case requires quite some verbal sophistication. 193 Subjects participated in the experiment; 47 were males, and 144 were females, whereas 2 subjects did not indicate their gender. The sample consisted of the following subgroups:

University teachers of theatre and film	6
University students of theatre and film	87
Other subjects having completed university study	3
Tax office employees	10
Fashion designer apprentices	4
Secretary apprentices	22
General Practititioner Assistant apprentices	29
Third year high school students	32

N =	193

4.3. Results

Like the method employed in the study, results will be presented only in short. (For a detailed report see Tan, Eggermont & Joosten: 1989.)

4.3.1. Unidimensionality of cinephilia

The 68 items of the Cinephilia test were subjected to psychometric analysis. It showed that internal consistency of the total test is satisfactory: Cronbach's alpha = .89 (N=154).

It seems, then, that the test as a whole measures one construct, i.e., cinephilia or liking for non-classical norms, while the separate aspects are not so clearly distinguishable on the basis of our results.

The unidimensionality of the cinephilia construct as we measured it, was investigated further by applying factor analysis to all 68 items. Initial factoring using principal factoring with iteration yielded 21 inferred factors. According to a screen test criterion not more than two factors should be extracted. If two factors are extracted then the first factor is far more important than the second. It explains 75 percent of the variance, whereas the second accounts for the remaining 25 percent only.

4.3.2. *Relations of Cinephilia with sophistication indices*

A total score on the cinephilia test was computed by simply adding all item scores.

a. Known group validity

If we combine the groups that may a priori be expected to have the richest experience with film, with art, and with the Art film, and contrast these with the remaining groups, the difference is in the predicted direction, large and highly significant. (ml = 234.96, m2 = 195.68, t = 13.78, df = 152, p=.0000, one-tailed)

b. Correlations with sophistication indices

All correlations of Cinephilia with measures of Sophistication were in the predicted direction and significant, see table 1.

Table 1. Correlations (PMCs) between Cinephilia and indices of sophistication

Sophistication variable	r	n	p < one-tailed	n of items
Frequency of visits	.51	154	.001	1
Visits to arthouse	.63	152	.001	1
Information Seeking	.30	154	.001	7
Enthusiasm	.37	154	.001	5
Attitude	.46	153	.001	4

It was hypothesized that most cinephile subjects attend film for the sake of film as a medium or an autonomous work of art rather than for various other reasons. The obtained pattern of correlations between Cinephilia and Reasons for attending to film is in line with what could be expected, as can be seen from table 2.

Table 2. Correlations (PBCs) between Cinephilia and Reasons for attending film (N= 154)

Reason for attending	r
Director	.61 **
Special film	.37 **
Reviews	.23
Recommendation friends	.11
Actors	.08
Accompany friends	-.17
Pleasant evening out	-.31 *
Seen fragments on TV	-.44 **

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* : $p < .01$, one-tailed
** : $p < .001$, one-tailed

4.3.3. Relations of Cinephilia with film preference criteria

The two films that respondents mentioned to have liked most during the past year were classified by the researchers in one of three current categories that differ as to the degree of innovativeness with respect to classical narration: "popular film", which was assigned a score 1, "quality film", assigned 2, or "arthouse film", which was scored 3.

The rank correlation of Cinephilia with Best Film is convincingly high (Spearman's rho = .63, n = 133, $p < .001$, one-tailed) and so is that with Second Best Film (rho = .68, n = 126, $p < .001$).

The correlations between Cinephilia and genre preferences also conform to what should be expected. If we rank genres according to their association with cinephilia, from high positive to high negative, as in table 3, a genre spectrum emerges that makes sense in that it ranges from Comedy to Artistic.

Since classical narration is constrained in large part by genre norms, we would expect that genres which put unambiguous and effective limits to classical narration are negatively related to cinephilia. This proves to be the case, if we look at the bottom three genres in table 3.

Table 3. Correlations (PBCs) of Cinephilia and Sophistication with genre preference

Genre	r with Cinephilia (N = 154)	r with Sophistication (N = 179)
Artistic	.64 **	.53 **
Serious	.62 **	.49 **
Relation	.42 **	.37 **
Documentary	.38 **	.40 **
Other	.30 **	.20
Historical	.26 **	.30 **
Sex	.16	.01
War	-.02	-.14
Disaster	-.02	-.07
Crime	-.03	.01
SF	-.11	-.06
Horror	-.12	-.07
Family	-.14	-.10
Music	-.14	.02
Romantic	-.31 **	-.20
Action	-.38 **	-.33 **
Comedy	-.38 **	-.32 **

** : p < .001 one-tailed

Going up from bottom to top, next we meet eight smaller or more specialized genres, from music film to sex film, that are uncorrelated with Cinephilia. There are Art film examples of each of these and a special liking for them may be independent from one's attitude to norms of narration. The top six genres in table 7, from Historical to Artistic film, are much harder to describe as bodies of conventions. Thus, it is hardly surprising to find the 'other' category among them, that is, films that are difficult to classify, are more likely not to conform to classical genre norms.

Although modes of narration do not parallel genres mainly labeled according to thematic aspects, it is not so difficult to recognize aspects of non-classical narration in the six topmost items. "Artistic" speaks for itself. "Serious" and "Relation" themes are more or less characteristic of the Art cinema mode of narration in which a crisis or boundary situation in the life of the protagonists is often the center of the plot. ("Relation" films are probably understood as ones in which a relation is problematic in a different, more existential sense than it is in the romantic film.) The documemtary deviates in many ways from fiction based classical narration. Traditionally, many documentaries partly conform to historical materialist norms of narration. The same goes for "historical films", provided, of course, that they are not taken to refer to Hollywood classics.

4.3.4. *Comparison to relations of Sophistication with preference criteria*

The rank correlation of each of the Sophistication indices with Best Film and Second Best Film was lower than that between Cinephilia score and (Second) Best Film.

Only when "visits to arthouses" is added to the total Sophistication score, consisting of Information Seeking, Enthusiasm and Attitude, Sophistication is as good a predictor of preference as Cinephilia. However, it should be observed that "visits to arthouses" is conceptually very close to film preference, to the point of being identical. Indeed, in ranking film titles, category 3 was described as "Arthouse film", as will be remembered.

Similarly, from comparing the left hand column of table 3 with the right hand one, it can be seen that the score on the cinephilia test is a better predictor of actual film preference than Sophistication (the sum score of all indices, plus arthouse visits).

4.3.5. *Effects of education*

Both Cinephilia and Sophistication were found to correlate strongly with education, as was expected. PMCs were .67 ($n = 169$, $p < .001$) for Cinephilia and .69 ($n = 169$, $p < .001$) for Sophistication (total score, including visits to arthouses).

The unique contribution of Cinephilia to film preference is most clearly highlighted by a multiple regression procedure.

Results are summarized in table 4. A hierarchical procedure was followed to test the influence of Education, Sophistication and Cinephilia, respectively. Hence, the model allows for influence of Education on the dependent variable through Sophistication and Cinephilia, and for influence of Sophistication through Cinephilia, apart from direct influences of Education and Sophistication, whereas Cinephilia is constrained to exerting only direct influence, in line with our hypothesis.

Table 4. **Summary table multiple regression analysis of film preference**

Step	Variable entered	F to enter	Significance	R	R^2	Overall F	Significance
	a) Best Film (N = 120)						
1	Education	153.297	.000	.751	.565	153.297	.000
2	Sophistication*	3.905	.051	.761	.579	80.488	.000
3	Cinephilia	8.761	.004	.780	.609	60.138	.000
	b) **Second Best Film** (N = 113)						
1	Education	84.483	.000	.657	.432	84.483	.000
2	Sophistication*	7.851	.006	.686	.470	48.774	.000
3	Cinephilia	12.490	.001	.724	.524	40.076	.000

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* : including Visits to arthouses

Cinephilia adds significantly to the prediction of both Best Film and Second Best Film, independently from Education and Sophistication, as predicted from our hypothesis.
Separate multiple regression analyses were carried out for the most important genre preference items with the same set of independent variables, in the same way hierarchicaly entered into the analysis.

The four genre preferences that were most strongly related to Cinephilia, two positively and two negatively (see table 3), were made criterion variables. The contribution of Cinephilia to the prediction of liking for Artistic and Serious genres was highly significant ($p < .001$ in either case), and also to that of dislike for Comedy and Action films ($p < .014$ and $p < .013$, the regression weights being negative). In all cases, the contribution of Sophistication was smaller and in three cases it was not significant at the .05 level.

4.4. Discussion of the results

Let us start by reviewing the fate of the hypotheses. As Hypothesis 1 is concerned, Cinephilia did turn out to be measurable as an unidimensional construct, as the test's internal consistency was satisfactory. It should be noted that improvement at this point seems feasible, by item selection, as the screen-test in factor analysis indicated that two factors had to be extracted. Also, it should be kept in mind that other and stricter criteria of unidimensionality or homogeneity have been proposed in the psychometric literature. (E.g. Lord & Novick 1968: 95).

Hypothesis 2, stating that Cinephilia is related to Sophistication was clearly supported.

Hypothesis 3, also found substantial support. Cinephilia could be demonstrated to relate systematically to type and genre of film most liked by the viewer. However, a few complementing remarks are in order. In future research, the criterion variables measuring liking for classical vs. Art film as meant in the sense proposed here, need to be elaborated further. Both type of film rated in this study and genre descriptions presented in the questionnaire are somewhat implicitly and indirectly related to the theoretical film continuum. This is the reason why the correlations obtained (see table 3) were lower than one would perhaps wish, although they were significant.

Ideally, classification of best films should be based on analysis using Bordwell's system of modes of narration, rather than the loose criterion provided for by the film's "image".

The relation of traditionally and recognizably labeled genres, such as "Western", "Serious film" and the like to the modes of representation is quite complex. Genres such as these are distinguished mainly in view of their thematic content. And this is only one of the aspects of narration, and in Bordwell's approach not even a particularly important one. Another basis for a definition of genres, the distinction between "art" and "entertainment" is likewise only indirectly part of the theory. (It can be maintained that violation of widely shared extrinsic norms cannot be an entertaining practice.)

As predicted by Hypothesis 4, Cinephilia was found to be more strongly related to film preference than sophistication. However, the differences were very small and the need for replication studies is felt here in particular.

Finally, cinephilia was found to contribute to preference for Art films independent from education and sophistication, as predicted by Hypothesis 5. As for the influence of education, the sample used may have contributed to a spurious effect. Since the respondents with the highest education are almost without exception students of film and theatre arts (see table 1), they are also experts and lovers of Art film. In other words, relative to the population of university students and graduates as a whole, they are high cinephiles. In future studies, higher levels of education have to be crossed with a broader range of cinephilia scores. This will probably lead to a decrease of the correlation between cinephila and education.

The assumptions underlying the test were derived from our theoretical points of departure: general education contributes to sophisticated attitudes and behaviour and to preference for Art films. It determines in part one's position on both of the two continua of taste. Sophisticated attitudes and behaviour facilitate the development, maintenance and refinement of cinephilia, or a "higher" position on the cinephilia continuum. Cinephilia is the most specific and direct determinant of preference for films scaled on the Classical vs. Art cinema continuum. It is for this causal model that support was found in the multiple regression analysis.

It should be repeated that the results are in need of corroboration by replication studies. Inferences from our analyses can in many ways have been affected by the particulars of the sample used.

5. General conclusions

It can be concluded that it is not or not only general education and a set of global orientations and habits, acquired "at home" that determine liking for Art films. Rather, a complex system of fine-tuned cognitions and attitudes that have very specific cinematic practices as their object is the most proximal determinant of liking for "popular" vs. "art films".

The implications for film education are various. First, the results obtained with the cinephilia test conform to a conception of classical narration as a foundation onto which other modes of narration are superposed. Understanding and, hence, appreciation of classical procedures and stylistic practice is not only 'given' because of the fact that it builds upon a longer existing tradition in other media. From a psychological perspective it can be said to be based on principles of perception of time, space, and action that are universal and emerge early in individual development. Only a few examples can be given here.

Classical continuity principles are associated with regularities of the cognition of space, time, and movement. For instance, Frith & Robson (1975) have demonstrated the disturbing effects of directional discontinuity on understanding and recognition of pictured action sequences in older children, age thirteen, as well in ones as young as seven years. Newtson & Enquist (1976) have shown that "natural" breakpoints are perceived in ongoing action and that missing action is most often detected when it falls at breakpoints rather than between them. "Match on action" editing obeys this perceptual principle: Cuts in an ongoing action are made just before or just after a breakpoint. (cf. Reisz & Millar 1968: 218).

To name a quite different illustrative example: classical narration in stressing causal progress of the action by goal directed human agents employs the Actor-Observer phenomenon (Jones & Nisbett 1971) in event cognition. The phenomenon refers to the tendency of observing persons to see psychological traits and motives as causes of behaviour of a perceived actor. In contrast, the situation is judged more important in explaining one's own behaviour as an actor.

Narrative in the classical cinema corresponds to relatively universally comprehensible and preferred cognitive structures. Trabasso, Stein & Johnson (1981) concluded from an extensive developmental study that the knowledge a child has about narrative events is organized along lines of chronology and causality. This corresponds to story schemas proposed to be universal by story comprehension researchers as referred to by Bordwell in his discussion of the norms of Classical cinema narration. This knowledge "occurs quite early in development". Leondar (1977), in examining "primary narratives" from five to six year olds, arrives at conclusions similar to the two mentioned last. Finally, the "happy ending" based on a "just world" view, has been demonstrated to be liked early in childhood by most individuals, about from the fourth grade on (Jose & Brewer, 1984).

In short, classical norms are conventional, to be sure, and yet elementary and non-arbitrary in the sense that they enable processing of fictional events in a relatively highly automated fashion, due to characteristics of the perceptual and cognitive apparatus that are acquired early in dealing with "the real world" and with fiction alike. A comparison can be made with visual perspective in painting and drawing. Perspective is not merely a convention established during the Renaissance and reflecting a particular "view of the world". It is also a system of representation optimally tuned to what the human visual apparatus can and cannot do, independently from training and cultural influences. (cf. Hagen 1986; Kubovy 1986).

If the educator accepts the student's appreciation of classical narration as a given, he or she is to proceed from there to help establish higher levels of cinephilia.

We say "help establish", for it seems plausible that there is a kind of natural development from an attitude system in which classical norms are more or less exclusively adhered to, to full-fledged cinephilia, facilitated by general cognitive maturation. In recent theorizing about aesthetic development, Parsons (1987) distinguishes five stages of development of aesthetic experience of paintings.

The first stage is not relevant for our purpose. The second, running parallel roughly with elementary school age, is characterized by almost exclusive attention to the subject of the painting. The medium must be unobtrusive to the point of being transparant for the painting to be liked. Schematic and photographic realism are criteria that have to be met. Furthermore, the children regard the subject as "beautiful" if it is "beautiful" in reality. "Pleasant", "midly fearful", and "nostalgic" are also criteria which are "beautiful". Children at this stage are aware that it shares some aesthetic norms, that is, they are convinced that most other people will appreciate the subject similar to the way they themselves do.

It is not hard to see the parallel with the norms of classical narration outlined before. Sharing of the system of classical norms is associated with more general aesthetic and cognitive systems that can be assumed to have developed in every individual of this culture way before adolescence.

From the third stage on, the onset of which is in the early teens, aesthetic appreciation centers less exclusively around the experience resulting from the subject as such, still according to Parsons. Emotional and subjective realism become more important, quite in parallel with the norms of art cinema narration as described by Bordwell. The unpleasant makes a work of art no longer bad, says Parsons. Bordwell sees the personal crisis and the "borderline situation" as a major theme in the Art film. Expression is valued higher. In the fourth stage, from about the end of adolescence, form and style of a particular painting and the medium itself take a role of increasing importance in aesthetic experience. This seems an important requirement for grasping the relatively unique norms set by any instance of parametric narration in film. Gablik (1976) makes a related point in hypothesizing that the individual must have reached the last stage of cognitive development according to Piaget, the formal-operational stage, in order to grasp the complexity of the 'Modern paradigm' in art that can generate an infinite number of systems, instead of the infinite variety of elements within the one classical system.

The stages of development of aesthetic experience and judgement can, of course, be associated in a more detailed and complete fashion than the sketchy comparison presented above suggests. However, the point we wish to make is that the development of appreciation of film art has a potential "natural course" just as aesthetic development in a more general sense, provided of course that the individual is provided with the experience of works of art becoming increasingly complex. Furthermore, the former draws on the latter. Appreciation of more sophisticated general aesthetic norms and digressions from those established earlier help in accepting more cinephile attitudes towards specific film characteristics. Both are dependent on cognitive maturity in a broad sense.

Suppose that we are faced with students who are acquainted only with the contemporary products of classical narration. How do we go about teaching appreciation for Art films? It seems that one can start by making classical norms visible (and hearable), thereby offering insights in the student's attitudes towards these norms and their potential transgressions. The teacher can help the course of learning that is more or less self-directed in the case of the privileged student. The latter has easy access to examples of films that show alternative norms and is probably used to norm deviations, relative to Parsons' stage one criteria of general aesthetic judgement in other media such as poetry and painting.

The less privileged student can be shown by example and explicit analysis how deviations are related to classical norms, or how deviations are instantiations of other norms. As a third step, analytical practice may help in creating procedural knowledge of how to recognize the most local and short-lived intrinsic norms and how to cope with interruptions of processing that cannot immediately be understood as the establishment of a new norm. Finally, the teacher may try to acqaint the student with films requiring the viewer to continuously revise norms of the most limited scope.

In assessing the entry-level of individual students and groups of students for purposes of optimizing educational goals and methods, use can be made of an improved version of the cinephilia test employed in this study. Improvement is needed as to the representative coverage of all relevant norms or norm clusters in order to realize a diagnostic potential helpful in the identification of areas upon which education efforts should be focused. In using the test, a teacher may find an answer to questions such as: which aspects of film are not represented in the students' attitudes, how consistent are the attitudes, e.g., in relation to an underlying dimension of classical vs. non-classical narration, and how "difficult" can any entry-offer of films be in terms of deviations from classical norms?

Furthermore the test should be made less dependent on verbal skills. Use of the current version with subjects whose mastery of verbal skills is under high school level is probably not feasible. Ideally, one would like to have film fragments typical for all sets of norms and typical violations of norms and norm systems instead of the cumbersome verbal descriptions used in this study. It may be worth while to construct an item bank on video disc.

There is also an important theoretical implication of the view on taste for film presented here. The development of cinephilia may follow the course of the evolution of film style or of narration in film. Abstracting from the complexities of the history of movements and tendencies in film making and their intricate networks of influences, narrational modes can be said to evolve from each other. A particular mode cannot come into existence without building upon the norms of its logical predecessor, and "logical" means "chronological", by and large. For both the film maker and his or her audience must have managed to bridge the gap that separates two subsequent modes of narration.

The avant-garde audience has traditionally been well-equipped to the task, as our sophistication data show. It is well-informed and oriented towards the film maker's contribution to continuous innovation of the medium. All avant-garde taste groups for all arts are maker-oriented, in addition to, or instead of being product-oriented. (cf. Gans 1974). The less sophisticated viewers need a helping hand in making the transitions. They need analytical guidance, the outcome of which may be an informed consent or a ditto rejection, instead of an attitude of numb indifference or embarrassed ignorance towards the Art film.

In conclusion, a more general methodological implication of the perspective adopted in this study has to be mentioned. Aesthetic film theory and film history are attributed a major role in the theory and practice of film education. Rather than presenting them merely as interesting and, who knows?, useful areas of study, as "Subjects", the educator can treat them as models of how attitudes towards specific cinematic practices unfold in time in a natural setting. Efforts to expand the individual student's cinematic range of acceptance and interest, should take into account where he or she stands exactly within the space defined by some model of historical development.

A historical poetics of the film serves as a phylogenetic description which is paralleled by the ontogeny of cinephilia in the indivdual.

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INTERACTIVE MEDIA: FRIEND OR FOE?

by

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Although many of the principles now embodied in media studies have been around for forty years, and although they have been systematised by concepts from other disciplines, they have not yet managed to consumate a marriage with mainstream education. Just when it appears that media education and curriculum development are about to get into bed with each other along come the "new media". Will interactive media introduce a new aesthetic or even a new domain, to undercut the work done thus far? What will be considered in this article is the nature of the audio-visual mass media as they seem to be understood for the purposes of media studies. Particular attention will be paid to the fixed nature of these media - a linearity set by the producer of the medium. This aspect will then be compared with the more or less open structure of the "new media" and the way in which each user becomes the author in a nonlinear medium.

This article looks at some of the current assumptions. In order to establish a base for the later speculations over new media the article will first of all consider these in the light of conventional mass media.

A traditional academic approach to an essay is to begin with definitions. A medium is that through which something else passes. It can be taken as read that we are concerned with media of communication. That a message is being passed in at least one direction is a necessary though not sufficient condition. This might appear a naive assertion but it helps in setting the limits to the discussion. There are many who would insist on the inclusion of popmusic in any serious syllabus of media studies and whilst we know that a message is being sent it is not always certain that it is being received.

The term "Mass" as a definer of the medium must also be considered. It seems obvious that we are talking about those communications media which are produced in large quantities, such as newspapers, comics, pamphlets. But the difficulties begin as we try to draw a line at the margin. Is a best-selling book a mass medium? The more prevalent idea of mass media are those which are distributed to a mass rather than "en masse". Broadcast media spring most readily to the mind of that mythical character "the ordinary man in the street" when asked about mass media.

The conditions of this study as set by the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction appear to cover mass media but then clearly restrict this to audiovisual mass media. That is permissible. But herein lies the seed of a problem which will be considered in more detail in this paper. Audio-visual mass media appear to be equated with a television broadcast. Mass media are considered in the context of the perception of that programme by each single viewer. Is it possible when considering anything as broad as a curriculum of study of the mass media to restrict that study to a part which is defined by a set of technical carriers? A further danger lies in confusing the study of perception with a study of the process of communication in the sense of the industrial processes and decisions which go into the creation of the mass media.

What should students learn about mass media?

Whilst one's first reaction is to cry "Everything!", that is both unrealistic and unnecessary. In any school subject we can only begin to create a structure of knowledge which we hope might be useful later. Subjects fight for time in an over-crowded timetable. We must be selective and persuasive if we are to argue for the inclusion of media studies in the curriculum.

Why should pupils/students learn about the audiovisual mass media?

Why should we learn? There is a large school of thought which is based on the innoculation theory. This states that children have to be protected from media. This will not halt or change their progress . One may not think that progress is positive but the financial and political forces are too strong to be deflected very far by even a passionate moral argument. The mass media exist in many forms. They are around us. Is it not then necessary that our children learn not only to analyse single images and then connected images, but also learn how these media are created? Anyone who has ever worked in film, television or radio production is aware of the many techniques which are employed in the construction of individual scenes and sequences in order to convince the viewer of something specific, to create a predetermined mood or even a particular attitude. Such manipulation is not the sole province of the political or racist propogandist.

If it is impossible to insulate learners from the mass media then they must be given the tools to be able to determine for themselves what messages are being sent and how. The other side of the coin is an understanding of the industrial processes. In the case of the broadcast media this must include knowledge of who controls the media, the financial, political and practical constraints which govern production.

Only with this two pronged approach can we expect to develop learners with a mature understanding of mass media. It is dependent on a recognition that these media are mass in their production and distribution but usually individual in their perception.

The construction of curricula is dependent on many local factors, but certain principles stand central:

1. The work should be based on real examples.
2. Both perception and process should be studied.
3. The work should be based on plain language.
4. Courses should start from the context of the learner.

Real examples: Despite the ready availability of mass media there are still courses using low quality homemade learning materials. One has to assume that video recorders and audio recorders are available. Not to use the mass media to teach about the mass media is like trying to introduce Shakespeare through limericks.

Perception and process: To study a drama production it is not necessary to study the processes through which it went. However, in order to study the processes one has to consider the final result and how it works on our perceptions. This is more apparent when studying advertising where the object of the process is a persuasive image.

Plain Language: Like all new fields media studies seems to generate jargon like weeds. Because at the higher levels of study terminology and concepts have been imported from other disciplines such as sociology and psychology, media studies is riddled with loose useage of long words. There is a need to use specialised terminology in a precise manner, but the academic level for such useage must be carefully selected. It seems sometimes that media studies is building a wall of jargon round itself in order to claim some sort of spurious scholarship and to protect itself from naive questions. Semiology is in its own right a highly disciplined study. It is sad to see its frequent misuse. Discussion of mass media can be carried out in the terms of the media themselves. That complex issues can be tackled in language to suit the context can be seen in the writings of people like Masterman and Butts. Do we need to call a room an architectonic space? Should we talk of watching moving pictures or a cinesthetic experience? If we choose the latter for a school context then we have to define it carefully. Language is a trap.

Begin from where the students are: Innovation is always to some extent dependent on the enthusiasts and proselytisers. One runs the risk of a mismatch between the interests of the learners and those of the teachers.

Motivation is crucial in all learning situations and can be best captured by starting with those aspects of the mass media which are closest to the learners normal viewing or listening habits.

A situation devoutly to be desired.

Given these conditions, an educational context in which innovation is acceptable (and there are those ready to allow the integration of new subjects), and given the presence of a few clear-thinking leaders, then it should be possible to construct a course based on the model suggested by van Stapele:

- -description
- -analysis
- -research
- -structuring messages through media
- -making (synthesis)

The last stage is often the one in which real understanding of the subject is first achieved but it is very demanding of resources and requires a level of knowledge and experience which is difficult to obtain in a normal school situation.

Along come the new media

"New Media" is one of the current buzz words or fashionable phrases. Not everybody is sure what it means and most users mean their own particular corner of the new developments. Let us take a broad definition and cover electronic communications, interactive media, and data retrieval. In all of these the computer plays a central role. The coupling of a computer and a modem to the telephone system allows access to remote data bases. Previously this was the province of the businessman or the academic.

Now it is becoming one of the mass media. One can see this in France where nearly ninety percent of the videotex terminals in Europe are to be found. Minitel, the system operated by Telecom France provides not only the sort of financial and statistical data that might be expected to come out of a computer but also educational programmes which can be either loaded into the user's computer or directly interacted with, electronic shopping, advice, financial transactions of most kinds, and even a pornographic text and letters service. We are just beginning to explore the full potential of these videotex systems which, although they are currently limited to text and diagrams, promise high quality images in the future. Already French schools are using Minitel not only to allow pupils to search through the existing data bases in the same way that they might use a library or encyclopaedia but also to deliver software to the computer in the school. In some regions the Minitel terminal is an integrated and essential element of a learning package. For the user the technology is unimportant. Their reality is that there is a screen on which information and pictures appear and it feels as though they are in total control of the system. This combination of incoming data and the ability to interact with the computer driving the system is for many their first experience of interactive media. What is important in the French setting is that the technology is not regarded as anything extraordinary, it is just another of the mass media. After all almost everybody has one of these sets at home (currently about 6% of the population but that feels like everybody). The same sort of technology allows electronic mail to go almost anywhere in the world. The man in Seoul sending an electronic letter to the postbox of a business partner in Hong Kong doesn't have to know that it is stored in a computer in London. The systems are so transparent to the user that one is hardly aware of the technology (one is aware of the bills which arrive later, however). Schools in Britain are sharing lessons live with schools in Tasmania. Dutch classes do field-trips by proxy in Canada through electronic mail. Cable newspapers are emerging in ways which allow us all to become instant contributors.

Interactive Media are here (to stay?)

Interactive media are systems in which the user is required to react to the screen and such reaction alters the subsequent course of the programme. Technically today such systems consist of a computer of some form (or in the simpler application a numeric keypad allowing the selection of choices from a menu) and a carrier of the information. This may be videotape, video disc or one of the compact-disc systems which are currently being developed. Today these systems are a jungle of incompatibility. One computer won't couple to another player. Programmes made on one video system cannot be played in another country. The special cards needed inside the computers are not standard. The developers of the compact disc systems are currently working on CD-DA (digital audio, already well known) CD-ROM (read only memory - now in use) CD-I (Interactive - promised but not yet available) CD-V (video - ditto) CD - WORM (write once read many) CD-Common and so on..... On the larger Laservision videodisc systems where the images and data are recorded in an analogue form of little bumps and pits there are linear versions for continuous play, interactive versions and others which carry the controlling computer programs on the laservision disc. The capacity of these systems is remarkable. One laservision disc can hold 54,000 still pictures or one hour of motion picture. A CD-ROM can carry 600 Megabytes of information or to put it into more understandable terms 200,000 pages of text. If one also stores data files, statistics and the like then the apparent capacity is further extended.

Such new media systems with all their technical complications are not yet thought of as mass media. The applications tend to be targetted on specialised groups. Yet one can look at Minitel and the cash-dispensers outside banks to see how fast such systems can become integrated into society so that we no longer think them strange. Already "Point-of-Information" and "Point-of-Sale" systems can be found in department stores, airport lounges and hotels. These are no longer the crude text-only systems but highly sophisticated mixes of motion pictures, stills, text, sounds, and direct booking or purchase facilities. Many companies are now using interactive systems to train people from operatives to top management. Specifically goal oriented simulation programmes are used throughout industry and the military world to train people in failsafe situations. Not only is it cheaper to train a fighter plane mechanic by means of a simulation but it has also proved to be more effective. The essential element in all these systems is that the user defines what happens. In a training programme the structure drives the student towards desired goals. At each step, if the student makes a wrong decision, then the results of that decision appear on the screen.

An example will serve to illustrate one approach to interactive video. David Clark of London University has produced a programme called "Paper Chase". Design this video disc for training solicitors took a team eighteen months to plan every shot and possible combination of shots, and then two weeks to do the recording. The user is the solicitor. All the shots are from a "subjective camera" so the solicitor can be male or female and is never seen. The case begins with a telephone call from a client. From here on what happens is dependent on the answers of the user. The case can be wrapped up quickly or it can even go to the High Court. Should the solicitor make a real mess of things their hypothetical job could be in danger. Each scene was shot with many alternative reactions. A clever program in the computer reframes the users responses until it recognizes them. This allows the user the feeling that they are using their normal language. The experience of using the disc is very close to reality, but in a controlled learning environment. It is doubtful whether anyone will ever look at all the material which is on the disc but it has to be there so that all eventualities in the case can be covered.

This is but one of the many simulation programmes which are emerging onto the market. One can learn telephone techniques, staff selection, customer relations, coping with stress at work and so on, all through these simulated media experiences. The above mentioned programme has been cited at this stage to introduce the crucial difference between the traditional mass media and the so-called "New Media". Though each time that the programme is used a new linear pseudo reality is created, that linear story is unique to that user. There is no fixed linear story line or time structure in the video disc itself. The user has become the author.

Educational programmes are now emerging from these technologies. Not only can we have vast amounts of information on one disc but a learner can, by means of the most recent "Hyper" languages, relate desired knowledge in a way which emulates the way in which we think, rather than having to follow tree structures of searching or algorithms. That is to say that these new programmes link items together in a neural pattern. Now for the first time we can have in the computer data based in which items are linked together in that associative way in which we, as humans, organize our knowledge. Often this is idiosyncratic in the extreme. Now we have the capability to put into practice notions of knowledge mapping which up to now remained on paper or were illustrated at conferences by earnest educational technologists holding up untidy nets of knotted string. The most recent developments are programmes with elements of artificial intelligence which are capable of recognizing whether the user has a grasp of the concepts involved, based on the learner's profile and the answers which have already been given, so that a correct answer may still result in some remedial work.

It is not a fantasy vision of tomorrow but the reality of later today, to imagine sitting at a work station and interacting with a bank of moving pictures, stills, text, drawings, animations, and sounds, in such a way that the learning and its pace are determined by my answers and capabilities however more or less goal oriented. If the information that I need is not in my work station then the computer calls up a knowledge base somewhere else and finds it out for me.

What has this to do with media studies?

A great deal really. The mass media with which we are today familiar and which are the subject of other articles in this issue are all more or less linear. The notion of linearity is so inherent in most media that we hardly ever consider it seriously. Since an emphasis in this particular context has been placed on the audio-visual mass media, it is easiest to begin there. Films, videos, and radio broadcasts are all linear in the sense that they are fixed in time. By this is meant that no matter whether the content (the story) plays games with time or not, the physical article - the film, the video or the audio tape has a fixed linearity in a number of senses. They all are read by machines designed to run at fixed speeds. They all have an intended start point and a direction of travel. This means that the images and sounds will be presented to the viewer in a fixed order and for predetermined amounts of time. As anyone familiar with media will know it is the element of time which is most crucial in how your message comes across. It is the control of time through the editing process which gives the programme maker that power to affect the audience. The notion of linearity can be applied to any programme. The news staff gives weight to an item as much by the placing within the flow of other subjects as by the actual images shown, whilst I may record a broadcast and (illegally) - play bits of it back. It is very difficult for me without production facilities to alter the linearity of that product which has been built in by the programme make. This is the heart of film or video making. The necessary placing of one image after another and relating recorded sounds to this stream of pictures allows us to tell stories. Communication is telling stories. Media studies is the study of the stories which are being told to us.

Even a book is linear. Although I can read it in any order that I like I can't easily rearrange the pages. It might be said of these media that the viewer/reader/listener can edit their perception but they cannot alter the product. A film or video programme is still a linear construction, both physically and intellectually, even though I can stop and start it. It only ceases to be that linear product when I start to cut it up, rearrange it and make a new product. In general the product remains intact. From the production side there is either a single mind or a collective mind which determines the linear structure of the medium and usually defines it in time. It is on this basis that all the ideas of authorship, genre, montage, etc. have been based. It is for that reason that it is essential to examine the whole context of the production to fully understand the medium.

The question then arises when we begin to consider the New Media of wether these theories and criteria are valid. This is in no way to suggest that anything in current media studies is negated by the new media but there is an essential difference. In interactive systems, no matter how goal-oriented, some part of the structure of the programme is determined by the user.

Consider some of the educational products which are currently available. The interactive video disc programmes "Ecodisc" and "Countryside" produced by the BBC both present masses of data. From these we select the items which meet our needs and interests. Though we are making the selection the learning process is not so different from many a project based piece of school work. It is when the real interactivity comes into play that the learning begins to change. Both discs require the user to make decisions: the one about a nature reserve, the other about a stretch of countryside. On the basis of what we have learned we have then to go through a complex of decisions (involving elements of just about every subject on the curriculum except religious studies, and, of course, media studies). The results of our decisions are then presented to us, even if they have resulted in the ruin of the particular territory. Here we come back to the point made earlier. Each user will be experiencing a linear flow of images and data. That linear experience is unique to that user because the user is now one of the authors. In this sort of interactive programme the power of the programme-makers to control the flow of information, and thus the message, is radically reduced.

In more open or data-base type programmes the user not only determines the order of what appears but may be required to contribute material to the programme. A disc full of archival stills and moving images designed for history studies may require schools to develop lesson packages around these images. Analysis of archival images is now being recognised as an important skill in the study of history. It does not require too much imagination to see that short sections of film of street scenes originally recorded to show a political event can be used as a basis for the analysis of clothing, social class, transport, and street architecture. The notion of ownership or authorship of the intellectual content of images may begin to change.

Some creative interactive video works are beginning to emerge, such as the Garden of Interactive Delights from former members of MIT and Lucasfilms. This features the interactive bed - but that is another story. Suffice it to say that through business and industrial training, through education, and perhaps through public use, interactive media are being pushed into a more generic mode in which they can be more widely used and thus towards becoming "mass" media.

Whilst the traditional mass media are essentially passive and we must therefore be concerned with the authorship of the message, in the new media systems we, the users, are also the authors. The degree of authorship may alter but we are nonetheless authors. Under these circumstances, and in the belief that these new media are rapidly joining the mass media, we need to construct not only new sections for our courses but also new intellectual tools with which to handle them. Under the guidance of Prof. Donald Ely of Syracuse University, S.S. Tyler has developed a Taxonomy of Educational Objectives in the Interactive Domain. This is as yet an unpublished doctoral thesis but coming from such a stable is likely to begin to have an effect in the world of educational technology very soon. Those involved in media studies could do well to begin thinking about the elements of analysis and synthesis which will be necessary to help our students come to terms with the interactive systems which fall under the definition of audiovisual mass media.

The perception of single images and sequences will be subject to the same scrutiny as at present but the notions of authorship and production will have to be considerably revised. The technological future may be confusing but it won't be dull.

NOTE

Whilst no specific citations are made in this article, it might be useful to readers to learn more about some of the most recent developments in the new media as they affect subject under discussion here. Masterman and Butts have made their own contributions to this issue. At the risk of being seen to be promoting

our own product I would suggest that the following book contains articles which the reader might find useful.
Tucker, Richard N. ed., *Interactive media: the human issues*, London: 1989. ISBN. 1 85091 884 8

- *Hypertext and compact discs: the challenge of multi-media learning.*	J. Megarry	13
- *Protocols and processes for promoting interactive cross-cultural media transfer.*	D.F. Ely	26
- *Separating out the design and development of IV from its delivery.*	D. Clark	56
- *Strategy and perspectives for videotex in France.*	D. Leclercq	73
- *Perspective in science: exploring science, technology and society*	J. Stanfel	130
- *Domesday 1986-1988*	Ph.S. Gove	142
- *Propelling interaction through telematics-electronic fieldtrips.*	H. Sligte	163
- *Authentic video in the foreign language curriculum: the Annapolis Interactive Video project.*	W.H. Fletcher	180

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